1: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FT7 Yao FT7

Yao make square houses.[1] Panelled doors and glass windows, deck-chairs and palm furniture are becoming more and more popular. The men wear long Moslem robes and the women are clothed in cotton. In the rural areas there are usually a few craftsmen who still ply their trades as carpenters and blacksmiths, though the latter no longer smelt, but use scrap-iron.

Labour Migration

Statistics are not available for the Yao of Portuguese East Africa or Tanganyika Territory. Yao constitute 34 per cent. of the total population of South Nyasa district, 15 per cent. of upper Shire, 11 per cent. of Blantyre and Zomba.[2] The proportion of labour migrants in these districts was in 1937 as follows:[3]

District	*Adult males fit to work*	*Percentage of emigrants*	*Number producing economic crops*	*Number of subsistence producers*	*Emigrants not heard of since 1930*
South Nyasa .	24,230	27·1	2,912 (12%)	12,025 (49%)	873
Upper Shire .	24,673	15·9	2,553 (10%)	16,629 (67%)	255
Blantyre . .	25,330	15·6	3,788 (15%)	10,165 (40%)	986
Zomba . .	26,679	12·4	7,720 (29%)	9,040 (33%)	353

South Nyasa district, which is unfertile waterless bush with a long history of famine and food shortage, has the highest proportion of labour migrants. Upper Shire, though not fertile, is more prosperous, benefiting from the tobacco- and cotton-growing industries, and from the dried-fish trade.[4]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE[5]

Kinship and Local Grouping

Among the Yao succession is matrilineal and marriage mainly matrilocal. According to some informants succession formerly passed down the line of brothers, as with the Bemba, but it now passes direct to the eldest sister's eldest son, or to descendants of other sisters in order of seniority.[6] Chiefly succession follows the same rule, but the most senior may be set aside for a more suitable candidate.[7]

Clan names, *fuko*ya, are inherited matrilineally, and formerly designated exogamous units,[8] but the marriage prohibition has now ceased to operate. Holders of the same clan name are unable to trace descent from a common ancestress, and for commoners clan names seem to have quite lost their significance; they are, however, carefully remembered in the chiefly lines and in other lines of hereditary rank, such as village headmen.

Within the general kinship grouping of the clan, a smaller group is recognized,

[1] Warner, 1906, p. 144; Macdonald, 1882, vol. i, pp. 20–2, describes a round hut.

[2] 1931 Census information is taken because the district boundaries were changed between 1931 and 1945, so that the information in the 1945 Census would not be susceptible of comparison with that given in the 1937 *Survey of Male Adult Population* in the *Bell Report*, Appendix A.

[3] *Bell Report*, 1938, Appendix A.

[4] Smith, 1937.

[5] Information, unless otherwise stated, is from Mitchell, and relates to south Nyasaland Yao.

[6] Johnston, 1897, p. 471; Meredith Sanderson, 1900, p. 370. Cf. Macdonald, 1882, vol. i, p. 187, who says that brothers inherit before sister's son.

[7] Ibid., p. 189.

[8] Swanson, q. 1902, p. 256.

lêbele (plur. *mabele*), a breast. This includes all who are supposed to be descended from a common ancestress. Often the direct line of descent from the founding ancestress is not known for more than three or four generations. The small groups which can definitely claim to be 'of one breast' constitute the distinct matrilineal groups which live together in separate hamlets within a village. Each is undifferentiated in relation to other matrilineal groups, but internally each is differentiated on the principle of sibling unity.

The main emphasis of the kinship system is on the bond between a man and his sisters. Their relationship is summed up in the word *mbumba* (translated by Mitchell as 'sorority group'). A man speaking of his *mbumba* refers to all the women he calls sister, their daughters, and their daughters' daughters. Strictly speaking, female kin in the ascending generations are excluded, as belonging to the *mbumba* of his mother's brother. The 'warden' of a sorority group, *anyene mbumba*, is the senior of the brothers and is responsible for the behaviour of the women in his charge; he appears for them in court and pays fines on their account. He plays an important part in the marriage negotiations. It is his duty to consult the diviner if his sister or her child falls ill, and to be chief mourner at the funeral of either of them, also providing medicine for the ritual purification at the end of the mourning period. Formerly these obligations were balanced by certain rights. He could sell some of them into slavery for his own personal reasons. This privilège is ended, but even to-day it is through his sorority group that a man achieves status and independence.

The principle of sibling unity is expressed in many other ways. A man and his sister reciprocally call each other *alumbwangu*. More usually, a woman calls her brother, older or younger than herself, *acimweni* (a term of respect usually applied to a chief), for any brother may be regarded as warden of her sorority group. A man has the same duties to his younger brothers as to his sisters, so they also call him *acimweni*, but he calls them *mpwanga* 'younger brother', as they can never be in the position of warden in relation to him. Maternal uncles are called *akwelume*, and a sister's son *cipwa*.

Within each matrilineal descent group, differentiation takes place between members according to whether they are siblings or not. A man's sorority group included ideally his own siblings and their female matrilineal descendants. His sister's daughters are also the sorority group of his sister's son, their brother, so that any woman can belong at any one moment to the sorority groups of her brother, her mother's brother, her mother's mother's brother, &c., but the effective one is that of her own brother, if adult. He is consulted first in small disputes, and at the marriage ceremony each party is represented by a brother as well as by a mother's brother. In the break-up of a hamlet (described below, p. 12), siblings tend to hold together more closely than cousins and to form groups of their own, so that each woman in the descent line is a potential point of cleavage. Tension between brothers as they compete for control of the sorority group is a source of friction within the sibling group which eventually leads to its disruption.

Since marriage is mainly matrilocal, and extra-village, the husband in his wife's village is seen as a stranger by all the members of her matrilineal descent group. There is a tendency for members of such descent groups to live together in a cluster of huts. The word 'hamlet' is used by Mitchell to indicate a cluster of huts, in which

1: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FT7 Yao FT7

every adult member is a matrilineal descendant of a single ancestress, or a spouse of one of these people. All husbands are called *alamu* by the male members of the descent group, but husbands call each other by the kinship terms for older and younger brother (i.e. *acimmemi* or *mpwanga*) according to the seniority of their wives. Similarly undifferentiated in kinship terms are the wives of all men of the descent group, who call each other 'sister'.

The husband is expected to work in his wife's garden, to help his mother-in-law, and also, in the early stages of marriage, to avoid her. His attitude to his father-in-law is one of respect, relaxing as time goes on. His attitude to his wife's brother is also one of respect, which covers feelings of latent hostility. Although husband and wife's brother co-operate in affairs relating to the woman and her children (e.g. they jointly consult the diviner in case of illness, and the brother-in-law hears grievances the husband may have against his wife), there are elements of conflict arising from their competition for the affection of the woman and her children.

Patrilocal marriages are the rule in certain cases. The village headman commonly has his wife in his own village. At his death his widow may return to her own village, but if her daughters have married locally she may stay, and one of her sons, as warden of his sisters, will also stay and marry patrilocally, as did his father, the headman. Thus a new matrilineal descent group, linked to that of the headman by a patrilineal link, develops. In every generation the number of separate but related matrilineal descent groups would double, and at such a rate of proliferation it might be expected that any village would contain many family groups. In fact, however, most members of a village can trace their descent from a common ancestress removed not more than about five generations. There are two reasons for this degree of homogeneity in the kin-grouping in the villages. One is that the villages tend to split up as they become too large and complex. The other is that the introduction of a new matrilineal descent group is often avoided by a cross-cousin marriage by the headman of the village or the warden of a sorority group.

There is a joking-relationship between cross-cousins, that is, for example, between the village headman's children and his sisters' children. The latter, as members of his descent group, have interests and loyalties opposed to those of his own children. Although there is a strong tradition of cross-cousin marriage, such marriages are said to be likely to be unstable.

Betrothal and Marriage

Child betrothal was common among the Yao. Acceptance of a loin-cloth and the wearing of it was taken of betrothal, giving the groom exclusive rights over the girl.[1] The negotiations for an adult marriage are conducted by senior matrilineal kinsmen of the parties, who at the subsequent ceremony act as witnesses or sureties to the marriage. Usually the senior is the mother's brother, and the junior the brother. The act of validation, the *Cingonse* rite, takes place some time after the husband and wife have been living together. They meet in the hut of the woman for the rite, which consists in eating two pots of porridge, prepared by the female relatives of each party. The man's people bring a cockerel and the woman's a hen for relish. The exchange of food symbolises the exchange of members of each matrilineal kin group, which is

[1] Macdonald, 1882, vol. i, p. 118; Johnston, 1897, pp. 411–13.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

CHAPTER VI

THE LINEAGE FRAMEWORK OF VILLAGES

Matrilineal Kinship

TO outsiders a village appears to be an undifferentiated whole and in interaction with other villages it acts as such. But within the village, social actions are determined by membership of kinship groups whose genealogical relationships to each other differ from one village to another. The village headman who represents the unity of the village is usually a kinsman of all the villagers, but the links to him are different and diverse. Yet he commands the leadership of the village, not so much by his kinship to the villagers, for a villager may have other mother's brothers and fathers in the village, but by his position in a political structure, where he represents the village to outsiders and to external authority.

Yao social groups are organized on a principle of matrilineal descent but we shall see that, although this is the main principle, it is modified by the general political mould into which villages are forced. We have already seen that, at least in the lines of important headmen, clan-names are inherited from the mother.[1] This is the simplest and most direct way in which matrilineal descent affects social relationships. The principle of matrilineal descent is far more important in organizing the smallest group which acts corporately within the village—the matrilineage.

A significant feature of Yao social structure is that the village organization tends to cut across lineages. In the process of segmentation of matrilineages, which I shall discuss in detail later, new villages are formed. When this happens the dissident kin usually set up their homesteads a good distance from the original or parent village. The links between different sections of the same matrilineage, therefore, tend to become lost, and the new village, conscious of its own identity and unity, gradually loses its links with the parent village. The general structural relationship between the villages as wholes, and their headmen as their representatives, is fixed at the time when the division takes place, and this is remembered. But the actual genealogical

[1] See Chap. III, p. 71.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

links are usually forgotten, so that the two villages are known to be related, but it is not certain how. The matrilineages to which the two headmen belong recognize this forgotten link and they refer to this relationship as *ulongo ŵakumbana*, which I can only translate as ' distant relationship '. In Cikoja village, for example, the headman's matrilineage, or as I shall call it, dominant matrilineage, is related to at least two other villages. These are Mbande and Cibwana Kawinga, both in Jalasi's area. The links with these two groups cannot be remembered. The first Mbande and the first Cikoja, I am told, had the same mother. Neither the present Cikoja nor any of his villagers could remember the genealogy earlier than the fourth Cikoja. A section of Mbande village, nevertheless, lives in Chiwalo's area near Cikoja and there is a fair amount of co-operation between the two villages to-day. Cibwana Kawinga is by the same explanation a ' mother's brother ' of the present Cikoja ; he is called in whenever there are serious disputes in Cikoja's village, and brings the force of a senior relative to bear on Cikoja.

People who are thus vaguely and distantly related may express their kinship in many ways. For example, they say that they are ' the people of one founding ancestor or ancestress '. They may say that they are *acina Masumba*, ' the people of Masumba ', or *acina Nkopo*, ' the people of Nkopo '. Masumba and Nkopo here may be either a woman from whom they are descended, or a man who was the leader of the group when they first moved into the area. Where a man is mentioned as the founder the term is used for the descendants of the man's sisters. But like most terms for social groups its meaning changes in different contexts. In another context, for example, *acina Cikoja* means simply the people of Cikoja village and has no reference to matrilineal descent at all.

Other terms are more specific. The word *mpago* may be used in the sense of one type or kind, as *pampago pamo*. An arbitrator at an intra-lineage dispute said, for example, ' You people who have a case are people of one kind [*ŵandu pampago*]. ' The word *cipapo* may be used in much the same way. But even here the reference may be to the entire span of matrilineal relatives whose relationship is vague and uncertain (*ŵakumbana*) ; or it may refer to a section of relatives having one known ancestress ; or it may even refer to a segment within the section.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

Among the relatives of the largest order of kinship (*cipapo*) there is a bond only slightly more intimate than that among people who have the same clan-name. There are none of the jural and moral obligations which characterize membership of a matrilineage which is a part of a village. The larger group, for which there is no exact Yao term, may be looked upon as a maximal lineage. It is characterized by a relationship of a more definite bond than that of having a common clan-name, but the members may still marry.

The Matrilineage

It is within the village that the matrilineage operates most clearly. The distant matrilineal link which connects villages such as Cikoja, Mbande and Cibwana Kawinga, is set in a context of inter-village relationships and is therefore part of the political system. Within the village the matrilineage becomes a corporately acting group of a different dimension. It is in this order of lineage within the village that we have the set of relationships described by Professor Fortes as applying to the inner lineage[1] among the Gold Coast Tallensi.

The depth of a matrilineage within a village is seldom more than five or six generations from the founding ancestress to the new-born children. The name of the founding ancestress is remembered and the descent of each member of the matrilineage can easily be recounted. The ancestress is known as the *likolo* or *lipata*, words which also refer to the trunk of a tree. We have seen how at a headman's installation ceremony the image of a tree was invoked in describing the lineage.[2] We find it once again here, where the founding ancestress is seen as the stem or root from which all members of the lineage have sprung, and the various sections of the matrilineage are seen as the branches (*nyambi*). This symbol of the lineage appears also during offerings to the ancestors. The chief, or headman, in

[1] See Fortes, M., *Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, Oxford University Press (London, 1945), and *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*, Oxford University Press (London, 1948). The Yao system of lineages is not the clearly segmented type of structure characteristic of the Tallensi. I hesitate, therefore, to use Fortes's terms, and use *matrilineage* for the localized unit which is usually a component of a village.

[2] See Chap. V, p. 119.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

making the oblation, pours the beer or sprinkles the flour at the root (*lipata*) of a shrine-tree. As would be consistent with this way of looking at the lineage, genealogically-distant ancestors are said to be 'below' (*pasi*), so that if a Yao wishes to say that a certain person was a matrilineal ancestor many generations back, he would say that he was 'very much below'.

The Concept of 'The Mother'

The matrilineal descendants of the founder look upon themselves as having been fed from the same breast and may express this by saying 'we are of one breast'.[1] Deep sentiment is attached to the idea of the mother among the Yao. There is, for example, a sharp distinction drawn between those women who have had children and those who have not. When a woman becomes pregnant for the first time, she is given instruction in child welfare when she undergoes a special ceremony (*litiwo*). This is a ceremony which is publicly announced and attended by most of her matrilineal and other kinswomen and acquaintances. No woman may attend this ceremony if she has not herself had a baby. Thus her change in status in the community is clearly shown by the public recognition of her condition, and the fact that she is initiated into secrets which are shared by other mothers only. Her position in the lineage is much enhanced when she becomes a mother. It is the most important step towards becoming a village founder herself.

The concept of 'the mother', in general, also appears in the boys' initiation ceremonies. Certain phases of ceremonies may be conducted only with the help of the women. They have to clap the rhythm to which the 'tailmen'[2] do their dances. Here all women are classified as 'mothers' and without their co-operation the ceremonies could not be conducted. During the same ceremonies three women appear with baskets of food on their heads. The tailmen remove the baskets and sacralize the

[1] *Tuli peŵele pamo.* The word *mlango*, a doorway, is also commonly used. The idea in essence is exactly the same. It is the concept of the children who come to settle around a woman's hut door. It is used as *ŵandu pamlango pao*, the people of his lineage section.

[2] The *m'mchira*. These are the functionaries in the initiation ceremonies. They carry medicated zebra tails during these ceremonies, and this gives them their names. See especially Stannus, 'The Wayao of Nyasaland', 229 ff.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

'sisters' and 'mothers' because alternate generations are merged in kinship terminology and in behaviour. A man's sister's daughter, for example, is called 'mother', and her daughter (his granddaughter) in turn becomes 'sister'. A woman calls her male matrilineal descendants 'children' (*mwanangu*), or 'grandchildren' (*yisikulu*); her matrilineal male progenitors 'mother's brother' (*akwelume*), or 'brother' (*alumbwangu*).[1] By extension, therefore, another way of expressing common matrilineal descent is to say that two people are the children of one person, *wanakajumo*, even though that person may be their great-grandmother. A term which is almost synonymous with this is *mucitumbu cimo*, 'in one womb', used as 'we were conceived in one womb', though once again the reference may be to a common grandmother. But the inclusiveness of these terms varies in different contexts. Any may refer to the matrilineage of maximal span within the village, or to a section of the matrilineage seen as a segmented organization of parts. It is only by reference to the particular ancestress that the range of the term may be determined.

The Unity of the Matrilineage

A person identifies himself most closely with the members of his matrilineage from whom he expects most help and whom he, in turn, is expected to help. If he is called upon to pay a heavy fine it will be the members of his own matrilineage who will club together to find sufficient money. They, more than others, support him in his quarrels. They come to his aid when he is ill or injured, by consulting the diviner and trying to find the sorcerer who is causing his illness, and by finding medicines which will bring him back to good health. They send him money if he has left the country and needs it to return. The goods he brings home from the labour centres will be shared mostly among his matrilineal relatives. They will find the food to be used at his funeral and also see that his burial is properly carried out. He owes these duties in turn to them. His property will stay almost entirely within the matrilineage after his death.

Relationship, unless qualified, is looked upon as being entirely matrilineal. This is well illustrated by the beliefs about the

[1] She more commonly addresses them as *acimweni*. See p. 147.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

disease *ndaka*.[1] This disease, as we have seen, affects the sexually inactive when they are brought into contact with those who are sexually active. But the disease will only affect the members of the matrilineage of the errant person. For example, suppose a labour migrant is coming home from Southern Rhodesia and has, among other things, a few pounds of salt in his baggage for a gift to his relatives. Suppose also that while he is returning he has promiscuous intercourse. The salt becomes charged with sexual heat and if he gives it to any of his matrilineal relatives to cook with, they will contract this disease. He must therefore give the salt to members of another matrilineage, even if they live in the same village.

It is when the unity of the matrilineage is threatened, by either death or division, that its mystical value appears most clearly. When a member of the matrilineage dies the whole matrilineage is thrown into mourning and remains continent for three days. On the fourth day they perform a ritual purification and some members resume sexual relations, but the closest matrilineal relatives, such as the mother and uterine siblings, remain continent for the remainder of the mourning period, which is about 36 days.

It is tension within the lineage which is most closely attended by dire results. The most important reflex of this tension is accusations of sorcery. Good relationships among members of a matrilineage are adjured, mainly because friction opens the way to sorcerers. The Yao believe that sorcerers kill their matrilineal relatives so that they may share the flesh with other sorcerers. The sorcerer is fundamentally a wicked person and may kill any relative but is more likely to kill those whom he hates. Hence it is most important that relationships are kept amicable within a matrilineage for fear that sorcery ensues.

An interesting variation of the dangers of sorcery is the belief that sorcerers take the opportunity of squabbles within a matrilineage to kill one of the members. The rationale behind this is that the diviner's instruments are unable to detect the origin of the sorcery beyond the immediate cause. A diviner will indicate that the cause of death of, say, a child is sorcery, but that the witch is obscured behind the quarrelling words of some relative. Consequently, danger to a matrilineage ensues when one of its

[1] See Chap. V, p. 112.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

613 754 578 626 members goes to an outsider and grumbles to him about the family squabbles[1] and quarrels. The outsider then takes the opportunity of using this squabble to introduce his sorcery into the lineage. The Yao greatly fear backbiting because of their dread of sorcery and none dreads it more than a village headman, a warden of a sorority-group,[2] or a person in the position of having to keep a matrilineage or section together. These people are continually adjuring the women under them—for it is the women who are believed to be the main culprits—not to fight among themselves; and if they do, not to take their complaints to an outsider but to the senior member of the matrilineage. The significance of this in relation to lineage unity is plain enough.

613 578 843 224 Apart from sorcery, strained relationships between members of a matrilineage are believed to be dangerous for other reasons. Malice may adversely affect people who are in physically dangerous states. The most common of these states is pregnancy. If a woman has a quarrel with a matrilineage member while she is pregnant she is likely to have a difficult labour. The Yao say 'the womb has heard these bad words'. Another situation where malice or quarrelling will cause difficulties is in hunting. The luck of the chase is capricious and malice may easily bring bad fortune to an otherwise good hunter. For example, a successful hunter once gave each of his two sisters a piece of venison. Each complained that the other had been given the larger piece and quarrelled vehemently about it for weeks. The hunter now found that no game fell into his traps. He went to a diviner who indicated the quarrel of the sisters as the cause of his failure and told the hunter to get them to 'blow water' (*kupersya*). He did this; good relationships were restored and his traps were filled once more.

613 578 769 755 These deleterious effects, like the curse, are connected in some way with the ancestor spirits. This is sometimes expressed quite clearly when a person is called upon to 'blow water'. A mother who wishes to revoke a curse, a woman who wishes to recant her malice towards her matrilineal relative who is suffering in childbirth, or a man whose sister's son is ill supposedly because

[1] This is called *miseri*, which I have translated as 'backbiting'. This idea is extremely important, as we shall see later.

[2] i.e. those men who are responsible for their sisters and their descendants. See p. 145 ff.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

of his malice towards him, might equally be called upon to do this. The person makes a statement to the effect that he bears no malice and hopes that the sufferer will be well. For example, a woman in Cikoja village who was called upon to 'blow water' during the labour pains of her mother's younger sister's daughter's daughter,[1] because they had quarrelled over a sifting basket, put some water in her mouth, spat it out and said: 'Those words I spoke: the basket is mine. This is my child. Both are mine. When I spoke and asked my child about it, they were not words to place in my heart, so that to-day we should have to go to the diviner because my child is hitched[2] and be accused because of the sifting basket. These words I push aside. I do not know whether there are other words that we fought about, but if they are these, my daughter's child come out!'[3] Sometimes the ancestors are specifically invoked, '*Conde, conde tiamasoka* . . .' 'Please, please, O spirits . . .' This is a public confession of the tension within the lineage and it allows the lineage leaders to attempt to straighten out the difficulties, as they did in this case.[4]

These beliefs in mystical dangers of one sort or another which beset the matrilineage as the result of bad feelings within it, have the effect of constraining matrilineage members to maintain peaceable relations among themselves and are, therefore, conducive to maximum solidarity.

It is clear from MacDonald's writings that in earlier times the periodic offerings to the spirits of the ancestors was a valuable way in which the solidarity of the matrilineage was expressed. With the introduction of Islam and Christianity these sacrifices have disappeared. I have not worked in Christian areas long enough to be able to say whether the ancestor cult still persists. In the northern area, however, I can say that the ancestor cult survives as part of the practice of Islam. Periodically, feasts are held in

[1] See the history of the division in Cikoja lineage, pp. 165-6.

[2] *Kukolekwa*, i.e. the child cannot be born.

[3] *Una mulolilegala ciwlo cila cangwe. Aja mwamanga. Yiwapa yangwe. Pinawevinga nikwenya, kumbenya mwamanga, ngiwiwa mulolile gakwiku kwetima, gati ngaku lola nikwenda kwetanga cakolekwa mwamanga nikumkumula uno ligenga lya ciwlo. Cilego ngwatuka. Kwalini ngagali gani gwawa kangamile nambo ngagenga mulolile gakwe, ciwlo cango cikapwa.*

[4] I have drawn attention to the cathartic effect of accusations of sorcery and public confession of guilt in a paper, 'A Note on the African Conception of Causality', *The Nyasaland Journal*, v, 2 (July 1952), 57-8.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

613 769 178 memory of the ancestors. These are called *sadaka*[1] and are similar to those held at the end of the mourning period. They are usually held when one of the lineage members has had a dream about an ancestor. The senior members are told of this and interpret it to mean that a feast in his memory should be held. The women cook a meal of mush and relish and on an appointed day the members of the matrilineage who live within a reasonable distance gather at the village of the senior section and share the feast. During this feast Islamic texts are chanted in Arabic. It is clear that in this situation the context of the meeting is exactly the same as that of the old offerings made by the lineage leader at the shrine-tree. The common ancestor is recalled and the matrilineage by meeting reaffirms its solidarity.

The Localized Matrilineage

613 621 The matrilineage may itself be localized in the form of a hamlet or small village, as in Ali Kasunka village. It has 9 huts situated about half a mile from Chiwalo's court house in Kawinga's area. The genealogy, hut plan and census are set out in Appendix B. I summarize the genealogy here to show how the hut owners in the village are related. The village is about 300 yards across and about a quarter of a mile from the main road.

Ali Kasunka (C6),[2] the warden of the village, formerly lived in a village known by his mother's brother's name Mailo (B1). Ali Kasunka is the son of the chieftain Mposa in Kawinga's area. The village of Mailo still exists in Mposa area. Ali Kasunka and his sisters moved out of Mailo village and established a hamlet in Malemia's area near Zomba township. While they were there Ali Kasunka went to work as a domestic servant in Zomba. One day the sister of the cook in the household in which he was working came down to visit her brother. She became Ali Kasunka's second wife (he was already married to a woman from Malemia area) and lived with him in Zomba. She was the daughter of the present chief Chiwalo, and was living at her

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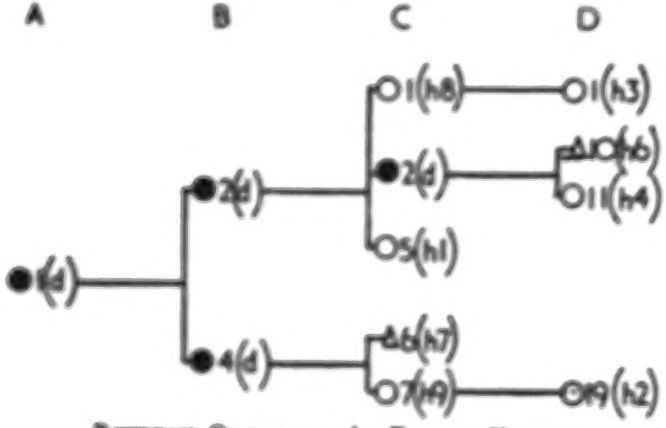
[1] Sanderson says that this is derived from the Arabic word *sadaqa* which means 'alms'. Sanderson, M., on 'Ceremonial Purification among the Wayao, Nyasaland', *Man*, xxii, 55 (June 1922), 91-3.

[2] The reference number is to assist the reader to identify the persons on the genealogy in Appendix B.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

village of birth in Chiwalo's before going to Zomba. After six years, when the land round Ali Kasunka's village in Malemia's had become exhausted, he decided to move the hamlet to Chiwalo's and selected a site about a mile from the hut of his second wife. This is where the village has been since 1940.



Residence Genealogy. Ali Kasunka Village.

Considering the matrilineage in detail: although Ali Kasunka's mother's mother is known, her collaterals are not, and Ali Kasunka's mother's mother's only sibling was her brother Kasembe. This genealogy is, therefore, built up from Ali Kasunka's mother's mother (A1). She had three daughters. One (B6) died before she had any children. Nyangu (B2), one of her other daughters, has two surviving daughters, Mbalanyao (C1) and Bini Kasembe (C5). Nyangu's other daughters, Amaliama (C2), Amwikonde (C3), and Amasingati (C4), all died when the village was at its present site. Amasingati died before she had any children.

Mbalanyao's (C1) daughter, Bini Mtuwa (D1), is in the village. Nalolape (D2) accompanied her husband to Cholo, where he went to work in 1947. Yahaya (D3), Ajida (D4), and Arwabi (D5) have all married uxorilocally. Taimu (D6) is unmarried and is away working for an Indian transport driver in Zomba, and Idi (D7) is working for a local Indian storekeeper as a domestic servant. Loni (D8), a girl of about 8 years, sleeps in her mother's hut.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

• 613 621 Amaliama (C2) had five children before she died. The eldest, Golosi (D9) is dead but he had married out before he died. The second, Mwanace (D10) has married virilocally and occupies hut 6. He has no children. Nyangu II (D11) has taken the name of her mother's mother (B2). She has gone to her husband's village with her five children, because he succeeded to a village headmanship in Mposa's area. Alieje (D12) is in the village and has three children, Kasonga (E9), Undeje (E10), and Amale (E11). All of them have not yet reached puberty and they sleep in their mother's hut.

Before she died Amwikeede (C3) had only one son, Mboga (D14), who is now about 5 years old and is cared for by his mother's elder sister, Mbalanyao (C1), in whose hut he sleeps.

Amasingati (C4) died before she had children.

Biti Kasembe (C5) is still living in the village (hut 1). She had only one daughter, Biti Sale (D15), who is in the village and who in turn had two sons, Tsibu (E12), who died in infancy, and Rajabu (E13), who is an infant.

The other main section of the hamlet is made up of the descendants of Nyangu's sister Abeda (B4), who had six children. Ali Kasunka (C6), who is the warden of the village, is married uxorilocally about half a mile away at the village of his second wife. His first wife who was living virilocally has recently gone back to her village in Zomba to look after the children of her late elder sister. Ali Kasunka does not expect her to return. He had three children by her. They were Biliate (D16), who is married out, and two children who died in infancy. His children by his second wife live with her in her village. Ali Kasunka's sister Atzwile (C7) had in all fourteen children of whom only Biti Mtemula (D19) survived infancy. She is living in the village (hut 2) and has had two children of whom only Wilson (E14), now aged 7, has survived.

Ali Kasunka's other surviving sister, Asanyeje (C8), with her 7-year-old child Mboga (D33), has gone to Zomba with her husband who is working there. Twalieje (C9) died before the village moved into this area and before she had children. Twalilemwapi (C10) also died before she had children. Asakondanyeje (C11) died while living virilocally and her two sons married near her husband's village and have never lived in Ali Kasunka's village.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

Table XXV sets out the disposition of the adult survivors of this matrilineage.

TABLE XXV

RELATIONSHIP OF ADULT SURVIVORS: ALI KASUNKA VILLAGE

Relationship to Founder	In Village	Married out	Labour Migrants	Total
D	—	—	—	—
S	—	—	—	—
DD	3	—	1	4
DS	1	—	—	1
DDD	4	1	1	6
DDS	1	4	2	7
Females	7	1	3	10
Males	3	4	3	8

In this hamlet Ali Kasunka is both village headman and the senior male member of the matrilineage. He brought the village into Chiwalo's area and he had the responsibility for the welfare of its members. He has to arbitrate in the disputes that arise within the village and he must at least appear at arbitrations where the members of his village have come into conflict with outsiders.

THE CONFLICT OF MALE AUTHORITY AND UXORILOCALITY

Although descent is matrilineal, authority still rests with the men. The senior man by generation and age is the leader of the matrilineage. It is true that there are a number of small hamlets under women. Biti Nkula village is one, Biti Cimeta is another. But even for these villages there is usually a man who can be called in to handle the affairs of the village. He may be a classificatory brother of the village headwoman, or he may be her own son if he is old enough. For example, in Biti Nkula's village, it is her own son Adam who goes to the divinations and finds the necessary medicine when people fall ill. He also attends the court cases involving a member of the village. Adam is married to a woman in Ndiwegani's village about three-quarters of a mile away from his home and he is therefore easily

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562 591 613 available when needed. When he became a labour migrant in 1945, his younger uterine brother Lipepeje took over the responsibilities. He is married in Ali Kanunka's village, which is about a mile from Biti Nkula's. In Biti Cimeta's village the minor disputes are settled by the headwoman herself. Her younger sister's son is married in a village ten miles away, and he would take over the duties if he could. He is married to his sister's husband's sister, and his sister's husband has threatened if he should try to take his wife home he will in turn take his wife to his home. Rather than stand the loss of a member from his matrilineal village he prefers to remain married uxorilocally. When more serious disputes occur he comes to Biti Cimeta's to settle them.

The principle of uxorilocal marriage is thus in conflict with the principle of male leadership of the lineage. If a man is living too far away he cannot attend to his numerous duties. The conflict can be solved in one of three ways. The first is that the man may marry in a village which is close at hand, and most marriages do take place between people who live near each other.[1] Second, he may marry a cross-cousin who is living in the village, albeit in another section of it. He need not then move out. Third, he may bring his wife into his village. The last two alternatives are from his point of view the best. He is then living with his matrilineal relatives, and among the group in which he has clearly defined rights and unequivocal status. But his wife's brothers will resist his attempts to take his wife from her village, especially if she is still capable of bearing children. He has to persuade her brothers to let her go with him and if they refuse, or if the woman herself refuses to go, he is helpless. If he wishes to live virilocally now his only course is to divorce the woman and marry a woman who will live virilocally with him. If he does bring his wife to his village she is kept there by only loose ties of marriage, and on the slightest pretext her male relatives will take her back to her village or she herself will run away home.

562 591 613 The larger the group of relatives to be looked after, the more urgent is the need for the senior matrilineal male to live with his lineage. All the villages headed by females are small. Table

634 [1] 73 per cent of marriages are contracted by people who live within 10 miles of each other. See *Marriage among the Machinga Yao*.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

XXVI sets out the position of a casual sample of 36 villages in Chiwalo and Nyambi areas. Among the 23 villages which had

TABLE XXVI

SIZE OF VILLAGES UNDER HEADWOMEN AND HEADMEN

Type of Village	Under 10 Huts	Over 10 Huts	Total
No matrilineage male resident .	13	2	15
Matrilineage male resident . .	10	11	21
Total	23	13	36

less than 10 huts each, 13 or 56·6 per cent had no male matrilineage members living in them. Among the 13 villages which had more than 10 huts, only two or 15·4 per cent had no matrilineage male members living in them.[1] The largest village in which there was no matrilineal male had only 11 huts. When the *size* of the village increases, the senior male matrilineage member tends to move in to live with his wards.

THE SORORITY-GROUP (*mbumba*)

But as the village grows and the duties of a senior matrilineage male become more onerous, a form of organization appears within the lineage which lessens his burden. This takes the form of the differentiation of sibling groups, and is part of the normal process of segmentation which is inherent in any lineage system. Consistent with the Yao idea that men should take care of the affairs of the lineage, sisters look to their eldest brother when they are in trouble. This group of sisters in the care of their brother is called *mbumba*. In the plural *anambumba* the word refers to women in general, but in the singular it refers to a particular group of women in the way I have explained. The word is always used in the sense of 'so-and-so's *mbumba*', as *mbumba ja CoMayele*. The central concept here is the brother-sister link and I have accordingly translated the word *mbumba* as sorority-group.

The man who is in charge of the women, usually their eldest

[1] Diff. of per cent = 42·1 ; S.E. of diff. = 17·1 ; C.R. = 2·4 ; p = 0·016.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

The close link of brothers and sisters is also reflected in the kinship terminology. The common term used by both men and women to address sisters is *anwali* and it is also applied to all women out of respect. But the term which is used descriptively and sometimes in address, cross-sexually, is *akulumunga* (my sibling-of-opposite sex). It is self-reciprocal and thereby expresses the special relationship between the man and his sisters. Two sisters address each other in everyday conversation as *anwali*. When it is necessary to be more specific an elder addresses the younger as *akulumunga*. These are also descriptive terms. A man addresses his younger brothers as *apwanga* while they address him as *aciwesi*. Women also address their elder or younger brothers as *aciwesi*. This word is widely used as an honorific title but it is especially used for people who are in authority. The chief, for example, may be referred to as the *aciwesi*, and men frequently call their mother's brothers and other senior matrilineal male relatives by this term. An elder brother has the same duties towards his younger brothers as to his sisters, so that use of the term of address *aciwesi* here indicates his position of authority over them.

From the point of view of a warden, his sorority-group is essentially made up of his sisters. We have seen that he is responsible for his younger brothers in exactly the same way as he is for his sisters, though technically they are not his sorority-group. He also has control over his sister's children so that ideally a warden sees his sorority-group as his sisters and their daughters and their daughter's daughters and so on. But a man's sister's daughters will probably have as their warden their own brother who stands in the same relationship to them as their mother's brother stands to their mother. The matrilineage is therefore organized internally in a system of inclusive sorority-groups extending from the eldest surviving member down to the youngest. However, a component sorority-group of a matrilineage does not begin to appear as a corporate group until the man who is to be its leader is old enough to take charge of the affairs of the women under him. Naturally, the age at which this happens is largely a matter of circumstance. Theoretically a man may not take charge until he has been initiated. But Yao boys nowadays are usually initiated at about 8 to 10 years of age. Obviously a child of this age cannot take over the affairs of his adult sisters, so that his mother's brother looks after

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

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them until he grows up. It is only when the boy becomes adolescent that he begins to take an active part in these affairs. This may begin in a small way. He may, for example, accompany his mother's brother when he goes to consult a diviner. Or he

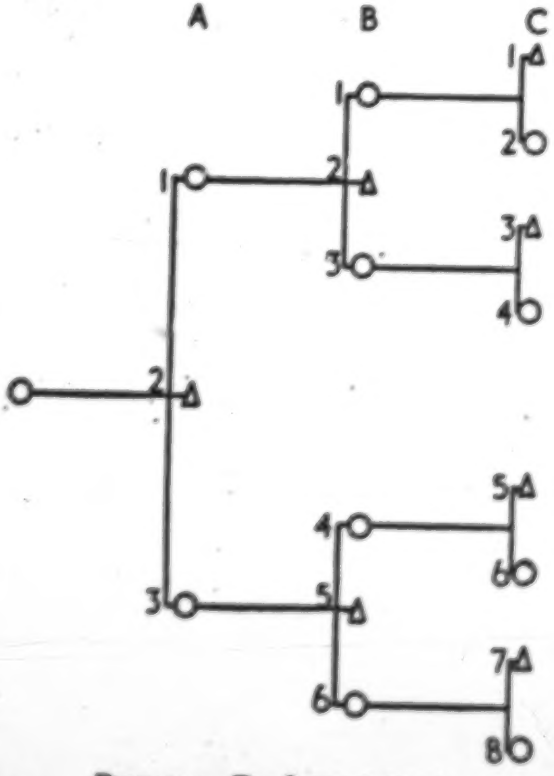

Diagram 3. The Sorority-group.

A2 sees his sorority-group as being composed of A1 and A3 and by extension *their* children.
B2 sees his sorority-group as B1 and B3 and by extension *their* children.
B5 sees his sorority-group as B4 and B6 and by extension *their* children.

may be given the charge of the conjugal affairs of one of his newly-married sisters. Gradually he assumes more and more responsibility. His mother's brother on the other hand falls more and more into the background and becomes rather a consultant than an active participant.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

593 one brother is unsuitable, they turn to another, uterine or collateral, and only if he too is unsuitable do they then turn to other relatives.

The attitude of Naliwa shows very clearly, too, the dependence of the women on the man. They have to wait for his action before they can settle their difficulties. This is part of the general process of internal differentiation within the lineage. The women become organized into small groups, each under the care of a man. These are siblings, so that their common descent, well expressed by the Yao *mucitumbo cimo*, 'in one womb', is the real unifying bond between them. When a Yao wants to express his close link with his uterine sister, that is to emphasize that she is not a collateral or classificatory sister, he stresses that they are from 'only one womb' (*citumbo cimpepe*). Naliwa says that a man who controls his sorority-group so that they live happily together is a happy man. He is happy also because his prestige is enhanced if he is a warden of a sorority-group. Being a warden is the first step on the ladder which leads eventually to independent village headmanship, and the man who has a large sorority-group under him can achieve this aim more easily. Therefore, the warden of a large sorority-group has even higher prestige than a man who has only a few sisters to look after. But the aphorism that 'chieftainship is slavery'[1] achieves significance when a man acquires more dependants.

Segmentation and Fission in the Matrilineage

613 621 The sorority-group organization in the matrilineage assumes most significance when viewed in its political setting. Segmentation and differentiation within the matrilineage consistently leads to splits, hence to village break-ups and the birth of new villages. Fission in the matrilineage usually appears when the wardens of the younger sorority-groups are over the age of 30. At that age each man is adult and therefore old enough to be responsible for his own and his sorority-group's actions and, usually, his mother's brothers, who when alive had kept their younger relatives united, are dead.

The events leading up to a split in a matrilineage usually follow

[1] From Smith and Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, Macmillan (London, 1920). For its significance, see Gluckman, Barnes and Mitchell, 'The Village Headman in British Central Africa', *Africa*, xix, 3.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

The events leading up to a split in a Mwambajila village usually follow a definite pattern. Very frequently indeed an accusation of sorcery is involved.[1] This usually stimulates a dissatisfied warden to gather his dependants together and to move off to found a new village. Elsewhere I have set out in detail the typical events which precede a village break-up when the lineage splits after a man quarrels with his mother's younger sister's sons.[2] These splits are not always successful because the seniority of the older relative, especially if he is a headman of some standing, may serve to reunite the village, and the leader of the dissident group may be unable to maintain its independence. This is what happened in Mwambajila village.

Mwambajila is one of the more important village headmen in Jalasi's area. The tension between him and his mother's younger sister's son Mbwana Somu reached a climax after a series of deaths among Mbwana Somu's children. He consulted a diviner and found that Mwambajila was the sorcerer causing these deaths. Mbwana Somu was very angry at this and told his sisters that they ought to leave the village and go to live in Liwonde's area, i.e. about 15 miles away. Eventually he persuaded them to move and they went to live on the Masanje river banks. But the deaths continued. The women now started to be worried because they had left Mwambajila's village

[1] The implication of this cannot be understood without some knowledge of Yao divining procedure. The type of divining is usually by gourd and object (*ukumba*). The diviner first of all establishes the reason for the visit, i.e. death, illness, theft, or whatever it is. He then consults his gourd and throws into his hand a variety of symbolic objects. He builds a story round these objects, and finally pronounces that he sees some person whom he vaguely defines. The consultor is then asked to mention who this could be. Though sorcery is supposed to be practised mainly in order to get human flesh for ghoulish feasts, it is not believed to act haphazard. In other words, a sorcerer is supposed to select his victims for revenge as well as for meat. The selective processes at work, therefore, when the consultor seeks to reconcile the diviner's findings with his own suspicions, are that he should select someone who is obviously evil, i.e. from his point of view, one with whom he has been quarrelling, and he should appraise the possible motivation for sorcery. After he has made the selection the name is vetted by the diviner and the consultor may later submit a chicken to the poison ordeal to test the diviner's findings.

This, of course, confirms Evans-Pritchard's analysis of Azande witchcraft and I here acknowledge my debt to him for stimulus both from his book and from the discussions we have had on the topic. I assume his analysis in my discussion. See Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, Clarendon Press (Oxford, 1937).

[2] In *Seven Tribes*. Case History II, 321.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

as he was supposed to be the sorcerer. Suspicion fell on Mbwana Somu and eventually one of his sisters went back to Mwambajila and complained to him. Later the sisters consulted a diviner and found, as they suspected, that Mbwana Somu was the sorcerer. Thereupon, they returned to Mwambajila and left Mbwana Somu living alone with his wife.

Here is an example of a village which did not manage to maintain its identity but returned to be re-integrated into its village of origin.

Conflicts between collateral brothers are not frequent. This is for two reasons. Firstly, the opposition between lineage segments is usually expressed in a conflict between a man and his mother's brother, a fact which is no doubt related to the opposition of proximate generations. Secondly, lineages seldom persist long enough to contain within them several segments in which collateral brothers are leaders.

Conflicts seem to occur more frequently among uterine brothers, a fact which is significant in the light of the particularly strong bonds which unite them. The relationship between uterine brothers is much the same as that between sisters.[1] They are intimately linked by their bond of kinship and depend on one another for care and support. Usually the elder brother has his younger brothers in his care, in the same way that he has his sisters.

But at the same time they compete for the control of the sorority-group. A man, we have seen, can seek prestige in the indigenous political system only by becoming a village headman. He can become a village headman only by mustering his sisters and setting up a small hamlet with them. The elder brother prevents his younger brothers from doing this because the sorority-group is usually under his care. The younger brother can gain control only if he can persuade his sisters that the elder is a sorcerer, or incapable, or in some way unsuitable for his position. Hence the frequent accusations of sorcery among brothers: it is a rationalization of a hostility arising from the structural position of uterine brothers, which, in view of the commonly accepted strong sentiments uniting brothers, may not be otherwise expressed.

The break-up of Mponda's village in 1940 clearly illustrates

[1] I have dealt with this more fully in my essay in *Seven Tribes*.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

The threat that lies over the head of an inefficient warden of a sorority-group is that of losing them to his younger brother, and it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the frequency with which this takes place in Yao society.

Intra-lineage Tension and Succession Disputes

The competition between brothers is heightened where the succession to an important name is involved. The rule of succession indicates a man's eldest sister's first-born son as the rightful heir. Informants in Jalasi's area told me that long ago the succession used to pass along the line of collateral brothers first, before dropping a generation to the sister's sons. It is true that in Jalasi's genealogy there are one or two early successions from a man to his most senior brothers, but recently the succession has passed regularly to sisters' sons. MacDonald, writing in 1880, quoted the succession rule for the Mangoche Yao to be 'from a man to his eldest surviving brother and then to the sister's son',[1] but he describes in another part of the book the dispute for Malemia's name involving the deceased chief's younger brother and his sister's son, in which the sister's son's claims prevailed over those of the younger brother.[2] Stannus, writing of the Machinga in 1922, gives the rule of succession as I found it,[3] and suggested that MacDonald's interpretation of the Malemia succession dispute in 1875, was really a mistake, and that both disputants were sisters' sons of the head chief, but of different lineage sections. I cannot decide which account is true, but there seems to be no reason why MacDonald's general rule should be incorrect, especially since so much of the other material he recorded seems to be accurate. Also, as far as I could see, there are no differences in the Mangoche and Machinga Yao in successions to-day, so that it seems likely that there has been a change from adelphic succession to a straight system of matrilineal primogeniture. One is tempted to find a reason for this in the strong emphasis on patrilineal primogeniture in Islam, which was becoming widely accepted in these areas in the middle of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately I cannot bring direct evidence to support this hypothesis.

While the succession rule may indicate someone as having the

[1] MacDonald, *Africana*, i. 189. [2] MacDonald, *Africana*, ii. 190.
[3] Stannus, 'The Wayao of Southern Nyasaland', 277.

while the succession rule may indicate someone as having the
613 best claim to a headmanship or chieftainship, it does not ensure
622 that he will succeed. Succession to headmanship is not merely
562 a matter of assuming control over the matrilineal relatives of the headman. It is also taking command of the whole village as an entity in a political structure and keeping it together as a functioning whole. The village as a whole, as well as the perpetual senior relatives, has a say in the selection of the new headman, and they select the man who is likely to be the most suitable for the position. Here, as in most affairs, the women have an important say. When they consider his suit the village members discuss in particular the ability of the prospective headman to hold the village together. If he is unsuitable they may cite occasions when he is believed to have used sorcery, or sometimes they merely say that he 'has no mouth'. This means that he is incapable of settling the disputes which arise in the village and therefore is unable to keep peace within it. The attitudes of the villagers to suitors for a name are well brought out in the statements when the Misi name was considered.

There were two uterine nephews, Wadi and Mbulaje, whose claims were about equal though Wadi was the elder. The chief Kawinga sent his representative Kasonga to call for a decision. At a general meeting he asked the villagers whom they wanted. Typically Kasonga's remarks were addressed particularly to the women. There was a division of loyalties. Some said that they wanted Mbulaje because 'he was of good heart, he gave gifts, he laughed and was not bad tempered, and he looked after the people when they were ill'. Kasonga, however, asked the opinion of the women under Mbulaje, and they were apparently dissatisfied with him and supported his opponent. Kasonga therefore announced that the new headman would be Wadi. Mbulaje was dissatisfied with this decision and gathered about him his followers and went off to found a village elsewhere. But the position for Wadi was an uneasy one. He lived in dread of Mbulaje's sorcery. When he was ill just before he died, he accused Mbulaje of putting poison in his beer. After he died Mbulaje brought back the women he had taken away and adopted the attire of the village headman. The people cynically accepted this, saying that he should perhaps take it because if any other should try to be headman he would not enjoy the fruits long before he too was killed. But the women were not satisfied with this arrangement and led by Cilo, the headman's sister's son, migrated. They said, 'We wonder that our chief should have died. The heart of the present chief is not good. Those who will stay with

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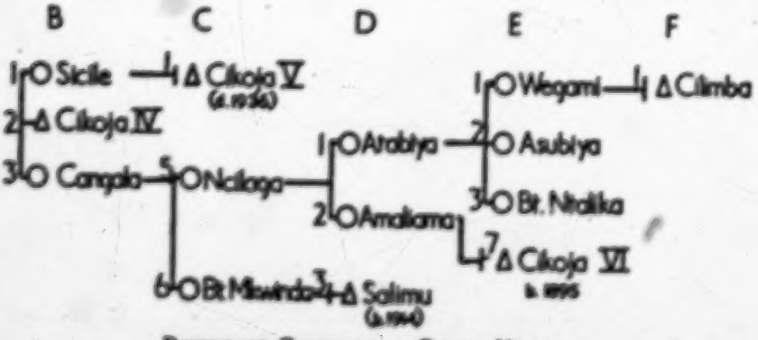
him will be other people, but for us the bush does not eat a person.' [1] Mbulaje was left with a few personal adherents. My informant assured me that 'He is a most unhappy man to-day because he is forever accused of being the sorcerer who is causing the deaths of his relatives. People are saying that Mbulaje had broken the village because he wanted to be a chief when the people did not want him. The one the people wanted was killed. Nowadays, no one visits him because of his sorcery and the people are frightened of him especially at beer drinks.'

Immaturity disqualifies many prospective village headmen. A headman must be a man of experience and wisdom to take charge of a village. Unfortunately I cannot present quantitative data on



Reference Genealogy. Cikoja Village.

the ages when village headmen succeeded to their title, but my impressions are that unless a man is older than about 30 years he will not be considered for the name. Difficulty arises when there is a conflict between the principles of seniority and age. The older women do not always bear sons before their younger sisters, so that sometimes a man from a junior lineage section (*lisolelyanandi*) may be older than a man from the senior. If the younger, but senior, is, say, over 35 it is likely that, other things being equal, he will take the name, but if not the man from the junior house stands the better chance. This is what has happened in Cikoja village. The position is as follows. When Cikoja IV (B2) died, quite regularly the elder sister's (B1) first-born son (C1) succeeded. But many years elapsed between the birth of

[1] *Litiuji liyangelya mundu.* In other words, if we go to live in the bush somewhere Mbulaje will not bewitch us. Yao sorcerers are supposed to eat their victims. See p. 117, fn. 1.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

622 the children of Ncilaga (C5) and Bt. Mkwinda (C6). There
613 was a big difference in the ages of these two women. Ncilaga
561 died nearly 30 years ago but Bt. Mkwinda died in 1948. When Cikoja V (C1) died in 1936, Salimu II (D3), who was born in about 1914, was very much younger than the present Cikoja VI (E7), who was born about 1895. Ncilaga (C5) had no sons, nor had Atabiya (D1), her eldest daughter, so the succession passed to the only son of Amaliama (D2) who was the senior male in that generation. Salimu II, genealogically senior to the present Cikoja, is to be the next headman. He has married a 'cross-cousin' (his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter's daughter) and lives in the village. He has already taken over the affairs in one section of the village. The other section has moved out and built about half a mile away with the present Cikoja VI. Note that the junior house—i.e. the descendants of Citeleka (A2)—are completely out of the succession. Wegami's (E1) eldest son, Cilimba (F1), is living virilocally with Cikoja VI in his section of the village and is already opposed to the prospective village headman Salimu. He is likely to be the village headman after Salimu dies and may even push his claim when the present Cikoja VI dies, because Salimu has been accused of sorcery on several occasions.

622 The conflict between sister's sons and mother's brothers at
578 successions has all but fallen away. The people oppose with
604 some vigour the idea that a younger brother should succeed. Frequently the chief or headman would rather his younger brother succeed, and sometimes indicates him as his successor. Kawinga, for example, has given his pre-succession name of Mlomba to his younger brother and many say this is tantamount to announcing Mlomba as the next Kawinga. This is violently repudiated by most people I have spoken to and they indicate a sister's son as the likely successor. Jalasi too, before he died in 1941, indicated Mbawa, his mother's younger sister's son as the successor, but when it came to the point a sister's son succeeded. The weight of custom is in favour of the sister's sons and usually the succession is fought out among uterine or collateral brothers in the first descending generation.

613 A matrilineal relative is always chosen to be chief in preference
621 to any other, but sometimes there is no heir. Other things being equal an unsuitable matrilineal relative will be chosen, or a

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

622 Mpumbe I (A1) died in Jalasi's area before the European attack in 1896. His sister's son (B1) succeeded. When he died in 1920 three brothers survived him. He had no sisters. His immediate brother (B2) was considered unsuitable for the headmanship and it passed instead to the next surviving brother Mpumbe III (B4). When he died in 1943 the only survivor in the matrilineage was Mpumbe IV (B2), and although he was by this time a very old man and had been previously considered unsuitable, he was selected as the next headman. In 1947, when I first visited the area he was blind, almost permanently bemused with beer and quite decrepit. At the same time Ntuweni (C7), the son of Mpumbe II by a slave wife, was about 50 years old and was the virtual village headman. All disputes were brought to him and he settled most of them. He also represented the village to the District Commissioner and at Kawinga's court house when the presence of the headman was required. Wadi, Mpumbe I's fifth wife's daughter's daughter's son, assisted him. The only thing that Mtuweni could not do was to make the sacrifices for the girls' initiation ceremony, but he took the old man to the shrine-tree and held his unsteady hand while the latter poured the flour on the ground and called on the ancestors. When Mpumbe IV died in 1948, the succession passed to a distant sister's son whom they found in Ngongondo's village in Liwonde's area. Mtuweni, who might have succeeded to the name, and for all intents and purposes was a village headman before the headman's death, was accused of killing the old man by sorcery so that he could press his claim to the succession. He consequently moved out with his sisters and founded a village of his own about 15 miles away.

622 613 When there are no heirs available one of two courses is open. The first is that a patrilaterally-linked relative may succeed to the name. I have heard, for example, of a chief's son who succeeded as Matola in the Makanjila dynasty. The son, of course, had the same clan-name as the chief.[1] In the Makanjila case there is some evidence that there were other heirs available and that this succession was the result of a clever piece of lobbying by the slaves with the Administration. I have on record a few villages where this has taken place, and where the name has kept to the slave lineage.

A more likely reaction to this situation is probably what would have happened in Mpumbe's village if no matrilineal relative could be found. Mtuweni would probably have taken the

[1] Slave-children took the clan-names of their captors. See p. 72.

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village but called it Mtuweni and not Mpumbe village. The positions of the lineages in the village would have become inverted, and the patrilaterally-linked lineage become the dominant lineage. In this way villages may change their name or they may acquire two names, as happened to Mlungu village in Nyambi's area. Here a man called Masalu took over the control of the village. He was the son of the previous Mlungu and the village is known to-day by either of these names. The interesting point is what will happen when he dies, because there are now sisters' sons in a distant lineage old enough to take charge of the village. The rule is, as we have seen, that the matrilineal relatives always have the first claim.

Paternity and Segmentation

It is interesting to note that the paternity of brothers or sisters is not a differentiating feature in these social relationships. In the discussions which have hinged upon the care of sorority-groups I have never heard the paternity of brothers and sisters brought up as a reason why they should hold more or less closely together. The father is important in social life as I point out later, but while groups may be linked through paternity, it does not lead to a second principle of segmentation within the lineage.[1] This is manifestly the result of the fundamental difference in a system of matrilineal descent, where paternity is of less consequence than maternity is in a patrilineal structure. Among the Yao, unlike the matrilineal peoples of Southern and Northern Africa, no marriage payments are made; divorce is easy and frequent, and there are no disputes about the custody of children, who always belong to their mother's group whether they are illegitimate or not.[2] This is consistent with the view of the husband as a mere begetter of children. Among the Yao, the

[1] This aspect of segmentation in patrilineal peoples, with different wives of men as points of fission, is brought out particularly in Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *The Nuer*, Oxford University Press (London, 1940), and *Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, R.-L.I. Paper, No. 11 (1944); Forde, M., *The Dynamics of Clanship*, and *The Web of Kinship*; Kuper, H., *A Black Aristocracy*, Oxford University Press (London, 1947).

[2] This has been worked out in Gluckman, M., 'Kinship and Marriage among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal', in Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., and Forde, C. D. (eds.), *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, Oxford University Press for the International African Institute (London, 1950).

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593 611 sisters are the points of cleavage in the matrilineage and the group of uterine sisters is seldom divided, unless their daughters are old enough to form a corporate group and to move off with their mother to found a new village under their brother.

The Spatial Representation of Lineage Segmentation

361 613 621 The segmentation of the matrilineage is also shown in the spatial distribution of the huts in a village. The daughters of the women of the matrilineage set up their huts near to their mothers', and as this continues over a number of years, the internal segmentation of the matrilineage is automatically reflected in the disposition of huts. Most Yao villages will show this spatial representation of social distance, some more clearly than others. The clearest example I have is in Meni section of Majaja village, Nyambi's area. The disposition of the huts is set out in the village plan in Appendix C. Here are five fairly distinct groups of huts in the village. Four are descendants of four uterine sisters, the children of the previous Majaja. The space between these four groups is cleared and paths reticulate among the huts. About 200 yards away, the fifth group is out of sight of the others and must be reached by a path leading through the fields. In this cluster of huts live the children of the uterine brother of the four sisters. The matrilineal relatives of Majaja live about half a mile away in a quite distinct cluster.

In Cikoja village the same principles are at work but the situation is somewhat obscured by the number of patrilaterally-linked relatives. A glance at the village plan in Appendix D shows that the major segments, denoted by the symbols Ma and Mc in the plan, are quite distinct in the old village site, the huts of Ma being separated from those of Mc by a broad path and by a patch of bamboos. In the new village site across the stream the same general segmentation is shown where the two sections, Ma_1 and Ma_2, are separated by a path.[1] The separation of the clusters of huts is difficult to represent on a diagram because not only are the huts placed in discrete clusters, but they face in towards one another and the space between them is kept clean. Between the clusters there may be rubbish heaps and small garden patches. I describe later how the village continually

[1] I describe how this section of the village came to be across the river on p. 169.

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adjusts itself to the changes in its composition. At this point I wish only to indicate how the differentiation among the various segments of a matrilineage is reflected in the way the members site their huts in a village.

The Segmentary Process

The segmentary tendencies within the lineage are countered by unifying forces, but the cleavages between the lineage sections show up at the slightest provocation. Once the cleavage starts it widens rapidly and charges of sorcery become more and more frequent between the two sections until eventually one moves out to found a new village. A cleavage of this type has been developing in Cikoja village for the last eight years. When I left the field in 1949, talk of migration was in the air but it had not yet happened. I summarize the major events which led to the present situation.

The cleavage first manifested itself in 1942 when Bt. Mbwana (F2) [1] fought with her mother's younger 'sister' Ayesi (E8). These two were pounding at the same place in the village and Bt. Mbwana took Ayesi's flat sifting basket. She retained it for about four days without telling Ayesi that she had it. One day Ayesi saw it at the pounding point and asked Bt. Mbwana where she got it. They had a few words about it and Bt. Mbwana returned it and thought no more of it. She was pregnant at the time and was confined about a month later. It was her fifth child but she had a greatly prolonged labour. After labour had been going on for some hours, Cilimba (F1), her eldest brother, thought that there must be something wrong and sent his two younger brothers, Kasui (F3) and Gwili (F4) to a diviner. The diviner indicated that the cause of the difficult birth was that her 'younger mother' Ayesi was bearing her malice,[2] and advised that Ayesi should blow water from her mouth and declare that she bore no malice. Kasui and Gwili returned and went to Bt. Amisa (E4) who was Ayesi's elder sister and told her what the diviner had said. Bt. Amisa did as she was advised and fetched Ayesi to the door of the hut in which Bt. Mbwana was lying, and made her confess. The child was born immediately. After a week Cilimba and Kasui brought a complaint to the village headman Cikoja (E7). They accused Ayesi of trying to kill their sister. Cikoja sent a message to

[1] The reference numbers refer to the genealogy in Appendix D.

[2] Difficult labour is usually assumed to be due to adultery, but it may also be due to sorcery or malice. See p. 138, and Chap. VII, p. 183.

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his eldest uterine sister's first-born and second-born sons, Amidu (P18) and Kanyenga (P19), to advise them of this dispute, and told them that they would have to assume responsibility for the actions of their mother's younger sister, Ayesi. At the same time he sent to a neighbouring village to call in an unrelated man to act as arbitrator in the dispute. There was much argument and eventually the arbitrator awarded 5*s.* to be paid by Cikoja as leader of the junior lineage section to Cilimba as leader of the senior section. Amidu and Kanyenga found 10*s.* between them and gave it to Cikoja to give to Cilimba. The other 5*s.* they said they would try to find and pay later.

This payment formally settled the dispute but the tension was near to the surface. Amidu and Kanyenga said that there was separation in the group now that they had started to eat money. They were not wrong. Ayesi was pregnant and near to confinement. When she was confined her labour was as difficult as Bt. Mbwana's (it was also her fifth confinement). When her birthpang confessions seemed to be unavailing Bt. Bwana Isa (P16), her elder sister's daughter, went to Kanyenga to tell him that their 'younger mother' was having a difficult childbirth. Kanyenga remarked that she had had many children before and had not suffered, so that there must be some reason for her difficulty. Then Kanyenga and his sister went to Ayesi's husband's sister's hut[1] to find a representative to go with them to a diviner. When they got there Ayesi's husband's sister told her son to accompany her brother's wife's representative to the diviner. The diviner indicated that the cause of the prolonged birth was the malice felt by Bt. Mbwana because the rest of the compensation awarded had not yet been paid. He said that the only thing to do was to call Bt. Mbwana and to get her to blow water from her mouth at the hut door where Ayesi was confined. Bt. Amina went to find Bt. Mbwana and made her do this. Immediately Ayesi delivered a stillborn child.

The next morning Amidu and Kanyenga went to Cikoja and blamed him for the stillborn child.[2] Cikoja called Cilimba to listen to the complaint. Ayesi was inconsolable. She said that she had blown water for the sake of Bt. Mbwana who to-day had a child, whereas she was mourning her child. Once again Cikoja called in outsiders to act as arbitrators and the members of the two segments gathered to settle the dispute. At the end of protracted wrangling

[1] Ayesi was married to her MMMBD1 (Kasuli (D11)), whose lineage lived in another part of the same village. See genealogy and her events in Appendix D.

[2] Cikoja is a representative of his lineage even to the lineage members. This accusation simply means that the blame lies within the lineage.

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the arbitrators awarded 30s. compensation to be paid by Cilimba to Cikoja, less 5s. owing. This money was to be paid to Ayesi in compensation for the loss of her baby. Ayesi, however, refused to accept the money because she said she wanted to have her baby. The matter now became an intra-segment affair and Cikoja, Amida, Kanyenga and Kaifa (F36), the son of Ayesi, with Bt. Amina had a meeting on what to do. Ayesi was quite adamant about it. There was nothing to do but to drop the matter, and the state of tension between the segments remained as it was before. 613 578 845 683

The next incident occurred in 1943. Mpulula, the husband of Bt. Amina, had some goats. One day two of them strayed on to the verandah of Bt. Madi's hut. Bt. Madi (F10) was the daughter of Anuna (F2) and a member of the senior lineage segment. One of the goats nosed its way into a basket of flour that was lying under the verandah and started to eat it. Bt. Madi came out and picked up a log that was lying nearby and threw it at the goat. It broke the goat's leg and the goat had to be destroyed. The owner, Mpulula, who was watching at that moment immediately rebuked the woman. He went and reported the matter to Cikoja and he sent a message to Mpulula's marriage surety who sent back to say that they would meet at Chiwalo's hut the following morning. The arbitrator in the case finally decided that the correct action should have been to take the goat to the owner and to lay a complaint against him. As it was he had to award compensation of 30s. to be paid to the owner of the goat. Mpulula, however, refused to take the money. He argued that although the goat was his, so was the offender.[1] He said that he was afraid of sorcery so he would take a token amount of 3s. only. Cikoja gave him this.[2] 578 613 685

A few months later the eldest child of Bt. Bwana Isa (F16) suddenly fell ill and died.[3] Kanyenga, Kaifa and Mzuza went to the diviner. Kaifa, the son of Ayesi, went as the headman's representative. Kanyenga went as the warden of the sorority-group, i.e. the child's mother's brother. Mzuza was the marriage surety of the child's father. Kanyenga consulted the diviner who indicated that Kanyenga's mother Bt. Amina was responsible but that she was not a sorceress. Sorcery, he said, was introduced by an unknown person who was using Bt. Amina's grumbling as a screen. Kanyenga refused to accept the finding of the diviner, saying that his mother had never been 'caught.' 613 578 784

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[1] His wife's collateral sister's child he also calls 'my child'.

[2] Mpulula is a stranger in the village and in this situation Cikoja represents both segments to Mpulula, even though the senior segment is guilty.

[3] Sudden illness, called *chisoni* or 'the hammer', is believed to be without a doubt due to sorcery.

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by a diviner before. He went back and reported the matter to Cikoja who accepted the finding. Kanyenga, however, argued that the real sorcerer was using magic to confuse the diviner. After some argument Cikoja sent for the then senior living member of the matrilineage, Bt. Mkwinda (C6), who was living in Chisio district, for Mbumbe, a perpetual brother, and for Cibwana Kawinga, his perpetual mother's brother. A big meeting was held at which all the important local headmen attended. The case was argued on the point whether Bt. Amina and her husband, who was implicated in the accusation, could be sorcerers. After some argument the court decided that it was impossible for Bt. Amina to be a sorceress without Cikoja also being a sorcerer, so that the accusation now settled on Cikoja himself. The case was taken up to Chiwalo who refused to award compensation. He reviewed the various charges of sorcery that had been made in the village before and observed that after the death of one of the supposed sorcerers the village had lived peacefully. He deplored the new friction and warned that there was to be no migration from the village. He advised Cikoja to mollify his sisters if he could. Kanyenga, Cikoja's eldest sister's son, said that he did not think that it would be possible because the headman had virtually accused his sister of sorcery. Cibwana Kawinga now said that there was no question of whether it could be done or not. It simply had to be done.

About one month after this episode, Amina (F16), the last-born child of Bt. Amina, who was about 2½ years old, died after two days' illness. When he was obviously very ill Kanyenga left with Mpalida to call Amisilo. They went first to wake Cikoja who in turn went for Gwili (F4) to be his representative. Kanyenga went off to a diviner at daybreak without waiting for the father's marriage survey. The diviner indicated that there was trouble in the lineage which was at the back of the child's illness. Eventually, he indicated that Bt. Mulika (F3) was the cause of the illness and it harked back to the dispute over the sibling basket and the goat. The diviner prepared suitable medicine and the two went back to the sick child. They got back about 8:30 a.m. and found the people congregated at the hut. In the meantime, Cikoja had sent off another divining party, Amisilo (F18) and Jaunta (F7). Kanyenga prepared the medicine and gave it to the child. It seemed to be getting no better and before Amisilo and Jaunta returned Cikoja sent Kanyenga and Gwili out to divine again. Then Amisilo and Jaunta returned and indicated that the same person was responsible, and almost immediately afterward Kanyenga and Gwili came back with the same result. When Kanyenga heard this he went to Chiwalo and reported the matter. Chiwalo sent a messenger to call Cikoja, Bt. Mulika and her eldest sister's son Cilimbo (F1), who was the senior male member of the senior lineage

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segment. They were to go to Chiwalo's hut the next morning. During the night the child Ajisa died, and Chiwalo remarked that Cikoja was bad at heart and that he merely killed his people like chickens.[1] Four days later after the funeral a meeting was held to decide the cause of death. The arbitrator and chief's representative was the local court assessor. The man's party opened the discussion saying, 'If Cikoja is tired of us he should tell us. To-day he is killing his child. We know that Mpululu [2] has begotten a sheep. The sheep pen is filled and when Cikoja wants to eat he merely eats these.' [3] The arbitrator said that Cikoja had done a shameful thing and that they should make up a divining party to find the cause of death. Kanyenga immediately demurred and said that they had divined three times with the same results. Further divination was a waste of money. He insisted that they called Cibwana Kawinga. The meeting broke up and Cibwana Kawinga was called for. He came a day or two later and the meeting was resumed. He said, 'Cikoja, you are evil.[4] You have found it impossible to keep the village. Now what are you going to do with your children? The man's surety says that he is going to take Mpululu away. Your brothers say that they are going to take their mothers away. Now what do you say to this?' Cikoja had no reply to make. Chiwalo then said that he would have to pay compensation to his sister. Kanyenga, however, said that they did not want money. They wanted to go away. Cibwana Kawinga here checked Kanyenga and told him that they would take Cikoja and give him a talking to, and instruct him on the traditional way of keeping a village together.[5] Chiwalo accepted this settlement of Cibwana Kawinga and endorsed his action.

When they got back, Cilimba told Cikoja and Mbande that he wanted to move out of the village because his 'mother' had been called a sweetsop by his 'brother'. Cikoja was anxious to avoid further trouble and told his lineage members that he was going to build a hut for his second wife some distance from the village because his first wife did not get on with her. He put up a hut about half a mile away across the Nanwoor stream. Cilimba (F1) who was living virilocally, his mother Bt. Ntalika (E3), Bt. Mbwana (F2),

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[1] This is a reference to the ghost-motif in Yao witchlore. Cikoja here, of course, is a symbol of the whole lineage, so that this imprecation is directed toward the whole lineage and not to Cikoja personally, as in the last dispute.

[2] The father of the dead child.

[3] Mpululu had begotten eleven children. This is another reference to the ghost-motif.

[4] *Undawo*—this word is also used to mean 'polluted'.

[5] *Kale unaw wakwe unali*—'the building of a village of old'.

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613 578 759 Kauni (F3), Bt. Madi (F10), Bt. Aliya (F11) and their children moved across the stream and built with Cikoja. One of Cikoja's wives stayed in the old village and the other moved across. Shortly after this Asimama (B6), Cikoja's sister, decided that she would like to move across to be with the headman. She reported to Kanyenga who sent her to tell Cikoja. Cikoja in turn sent her to tell Amida. Eventually, Cikoja, Amida, Kanyenga and Salimu (D3) had a meeting about it. Neither Amida nor Kanyenga, nor Salimu, was enthusiastic, but they said she should follow her own wishes. She moved across with her children. Asimama's arrival on the other side of the stream was greeted with some suspicion by Cilimba because she was a member of the junior lineage. However, Cikoja assured him that he wanted one of Asimama's daughters to fetch water for him. Cilimba was satisfied with this explanation and accepted the situation as it was.

It was not easy, however, and there were continual quarrels between the children of Bt. Ntalika and those of Asimama. The members of the junior segment in the old village also looked upon this arrangement with some suspicion. The friendship of Anege (F28), Asimama's daughter, with Anbiya (E9), her mother's younger sister was particularly deprecated by the members of the junior segment. Anbiya was warned several times that this friendship could only lead to sorcery.[1]

In the meantime, Salimu (D3), who will be the next Cikoja and who was the senior lineage member in the old village site, undertook most of the duties of the headman in that section. He settled most of the minor cases and saw to the divining. However, he reported his doings to Cikoja who was still the village headman.

In 1948, another death took place and the tension became evident again. Bt. Ntalika's child died. Kauni (F3) and Jaunsa (F7) went to the diviner, who revealed that Anege had gone to Salimu to grumble about what was going on in the other village, and Salimu had taken this opportunity of bewitching the child. Cikoja refused to accept this explanation and said that the diviner was a liar. When the body was being washed, a knife was found under the mat on which it was lying, and the story went around that a piece of flesh was taken out of the dead child's buttock.[2] Cikoja interpreted this as meaning that Bt. Ntalika herself had bewitched the child. He felt it unnecessary to call a funeral meeting. Shortly after this there was some friction between Amina and her younger sister Anbiya, arising out of jealousy because of the difference in their harvests. Bt. Amina was convinced

[1] This is based on the fear of bewitching. See p. 138.

[2] Once a person is dead the matrilineal relatives do not touch him. They leave the hut and the undertakers (akida) wash the body and prepare it for burial. They reported this finding to Cikoja.

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that Anduya in her jealousy had gone to grumble to Bt. Ntalika about this. Rajabu (Par) who had heard about this called Cikoja and they assembled Bt. Amina, Bt. Bwana Iu and Anduya in Bt. Amina's hut, and spoke to them about the dangers of backbiting. Cikoja remonstrated with the women saying, 'I don't want to hear about this again. When you love people do not love people who are strangers. Do not talk behind people's backs and bring war in the knees of your body-cloths.' 613 578 754

A few weeks after this, in June 1948, Alowinda (Par), a 3½-year-old daughter of Anduya, died. When her mother saw that the child was seriously ill she took her to her patrilineal relatives in Liwonde area. She had barely got there when the child died. The headman of the village sent a message back to Cikoja to tell him of the death. He in turn sent a message to Amida and Rajabu and they went to the village to attend the funeral. After the first mourning feast three days after the funeral, Kaifa, the child's mother's elder sister's son, and Malewaga, representing the village in which the child had died, went to a diviner who indicated that the cause lay in the backbiting of Anduya about Bt. Amina, but that the sorcerer was Bt. Ntalika. The tension now had reached almost breaking point and after about six months Bt. Ntalika moved out into Liwonde area without announcing that she was going.

At the end of December, Anduya's son Selemu (Par), aged 4½, suddenly became ill one night. In the morning Amida and Rajabu and Nkatawila (Dar), who was the husband's marriage surety, went to a diviner. He indicated that the cause was a girls' initiation basket which Ayesi kept. This basket, the diviner said, kept losing its strength and it was only on the death of a close relative that it would regain power. They returned and when they got near the village they could hear the women keening. They agreed that the diviner was a liar and returned and got their money back. The body was buried on January 3rd, 1949. Anduya now left the village without announcing her intention and went to complain to chief Kawinga. Cikoja in the meantime, noticing that Anduya was not present at the funeral, sent out men to search for her. After two days Kawinga's chief court usher, Masanda, brought Anduya back to the village. He told Cikoja that he had cross-examined her and found that she said her elder sister was causing death because of her jealousy over the food. Masanda returned and some days later Kawinga wrote a letter to Cikoja telling him to come to the court village. This he did and was told to hold the mourning feast, but to take the people to the court village to hold the funeral meeting. There a divining party would be arranged and the cause of the death determined. 613 578 754 695

After the first funeral feast the people of Cikoja assembled at

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Kawinga's court village. Masunda reviewed the events leading up to the calling of the meeting and asked Cikoja to give his statement. Cikoja replied, 'You say I am finishing the people. I do not deny it. If the people are being finished by my sister, then I am finishing them.[1] You may speak what is in your hearts.' Andeya now made her statement. After this, Bt. Amina was called out. She denied knowing anything about the case. Masunda at this point was about to send the case back to Cikoja when Matewa, a second arbitrator, asked who the marriage sureties were. Amida came forth as the woman's surety. Matewa asked him to tell the court about Andeya's marriage relationships. Amida then reviewed the history of Andeya's pregnancies. He pointed out that the first child had died.[2] The second one also died. The diviner had indicated that she had broken a sexual taboo and the child had died from *ndoka* as a result. The third child was still alive. The fourth had died recently. The fifth was the one about whom there was a case that day. He recounted how they had gone to a diviner and how he had indicated that the cause of the death lay in the backbiting which the person herself had done. Masunda cross-questioned Amida about the *ndoka* medicine that was given and assured himself the complainant was satisfied that the second child had died of *ndoka* and not sorcery. Masunda then called Salima since the woman was living at the old village site under Salima's charge. Salima, who works as a tailor in an Indian store some miles away, said that he did not have a great knowledge of the case. Cikoja said he had nothing to say. Eventually, after some hours of cross-questioning, Masunda decided that a divining party must be made up and the results of the divination reported to the court. Bt. Amina now stood up and said she was prepared to undergo the poison ordeal to prove that she was not a sorceress. She said that she would go with them to the diviner to find out the cause of the death of the child. Masunda said that they would leave the matter at that. At the village they would have to decide on a divining party and they would have to give poison to a chicken to make sure that the divination was correct. After that Cikoja would have to report the matter to Kawinga and the case would be re-opened. Nyonje was at the inquest and said to Cikoja that if they were not relatives he would have other words to say to him about this business. As it was he did not see what he had to rejoice about. Cikoja said that he did not know, but that Nyonje should ask the owner of the village. Surprised, Nyonje said, 'Who is that?' Cikoja indicated Salima.

[1] Cikoja is talking as a representative of his lineage here.

[2] The first death in a family is never divined for, because the Yao say that if this is done, it 'would chase the father away'.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

Salima said that Cikinja ought not to speak like that because it only made things difficult.

Two days after this Cikinja called a meeting at Salima's hut in order to choose a divining party. Eventually they chose Kanyenga, Asimanna, Raisi and Mussa. Mussa was the witness for Kanyenga who represented the woman's party. Raisi represented the father's party, and Asimanna were to be his witness. Cikinja gave them 3s. and they went to look for a diviner. Eventually they found one and Kanyenga opened the consultation. The diviner indicated that the cause of the death of the child was *lindwala*.[1] The party paid him and looked for a place to sleep. The following day they sought another diviner. Kanyenga again consulted and was told that Bt. Nsilika and her son were sorcerers but that the mother herself was ill with *lindwala*. Kanyenga rejected the *lindwala* explanation and insisted on the sorcery of Bt. Nsilika and Cilimbo. The diviner consulted again and said that the main cause of the death was the *lindwala* and that the sorcery of Bt. Nsilika was added to the other. Asimanna here insisted that the sorcerer in reality was Bt. Amina. The diviner rejected this. He said the best way to test the divination was to give poison to a chicken. The party was at a loss to know what to do. In two divinations, a *likanga* was indicated twice, while sorcery was said to cloud the issue. They decided to give a chicken poison. They returned to Rajabu's hut in the village where he had married. Here they sent Rajabu to tell Salima that they were about to test a chicken at the poison ordeal, but that he must not tell Cikinja. They gave two chickens poison, one for *lindwala* of the mother and one for the sorcery of Bt. Amina. The *lindwala* chicken died, indicating that Bt. Amina was innocent. When Cikinja was told this he refused to believe it and sent them to poison another two chickens. The result was the same. He now decided that he would take the divination to a distant place and chose to go to Ngokwe chieftdom. Kanyenga led the divination party again. They consulted the diviner and after much waiting and reviewing the diviner decided that the sorcerers were Bt. Nsilika and Cilimbo and that the *lindwala* had nothing to do with it. He also specifically excluded Bt. Amina. The diviner now told the father's two representatives to stay behind while the woman's representatives fetched Cikinja. When he came, the diviner revealed the result to him personally. Cikinja was at a loss what to do in this situation. Two divinations including poison tests had indicated that *likanga* was the cause, a third and very exhaustive one had revealed Bt. Nsilika and her son. Neither had indicated Bt. Amina.

[1] *Lindwala* is a type of principle (the generic term for which is *likanga*) which, when it comes to a head and bursts, causes the death of the last-born child.

2: Mitchell K-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

Eventually, in March, he decided to take the case up to Kawinga's court. Cikinja was not willing to accuse Bt. Nkalika and Cilimba publicly. Accordingly he went to Kawinga but he did not send for Bt. Nkalika. When Mamanda, the court secretary, heard this he refused to handle the case and told Cikinja that Bt. Nkalika had to be brought to court so that they could hear her statement. Cikinja and his people came back to the village and nothing more was done about it. In April, Rajabu wrote a letter to Cikinja telling him that he wanted to report him to Kawinga and to bring a charge for compensation against him because he had falsely accused his mother of sorcery.

I left the field in June and do not know what the result was.

The series of events are extremely complex. I have given only a summary of them. Nevertheless, the main themes in the history are clear enough. We see Cikinja as the representative of the lineage of any order whatsoever. We find in particular the opposition of the two collateral brothers, Kanyenga and Cilimba. They are the representatives of the two lineage segments in this situation. There is seldom any doubt about the affiliation of these two personalities. Consistently in the accounts of the divinations each rejects the diviner's finding if it accuses a member of his lineage segment. Note that the divination session itself becomes a field in which the opposition of the segments is expressed. Kanyenga continued consulting diviners until finally he got the answer he wanted. His opponents rejected these findings and eventually even discounted the chicken ordeal. The diviners' findings and the results of the poison ordeals, therefore, are handled about between the opposed groups, and though the whole procedure of divination and accusations of sorcery is directed towards the extirpation of discordant elements in the community, in fact, it is only a facet of the underlying cause of the tension—the opposition of segments in an over-segmenting lineage.

In addition to the structural opposition of Kanyenga and Cilimba there is a certain amount of tension among Cikinja's married sisters. Bt. Amina, Asimamu, Ayesi and Amidiya have all had children. Bt. Amina is the senior and the relationships between her and any of the other sisters are difficult. In addition to this there is the tension between the generations seen in the attempt of the sons of Amina to bring a compensation claim

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against Cikoja himself. It is important that not once is a member of the junior major segment, that is a descendant of Citileka (A2), involved in the dispute. Only the descendants of Atabiya (D1) and Amaliama (D2) are involved, with the exception of Salima who appears as the representative of the villagers on the old village site.

The Opposition of the Generations

Segmentation arises as more and more sorority-groups, the daughters of women, reach adulthood, and as the sons of the same women become old enough to undertake responsibilities for the care of the women. There is, in this situation, a fundamental opposition of generations. A woman is bound to her own sisters and at the same time she is bound to her daughters. These bonds come into conflict when her daughters want to express their unity against their mother's sister's daughters. The mother must decide whether she will go with her daughters to their new village site, or whether she will stay with her sisters and possibly with her own brother. I found consistently that a mother seldom stayed in a village when her daughters were moving out of it. The bond with her children is stronger than that with her sisters. Yet the conflict is clearly present. It finds expression in the kinship terminology. A daughter is usually identified with her mother's mother. A woman's daughter's daughter inherits her name, her position and her property in much the same way as a man succeeds his mother's brother.[1] When this has taken place the terms of address of her parental generation are now reversed. In other words her mother's brother instead of calling her, '*sister's child*' (*ciŋwa*), calls her '*mother*' (*amai*). Sometimes the qualificative *akamajo* ('who has returned') is used to signify the difference. Her mother's mother's husband even before the succession has taken place calls her '*my wife*', and I have recorded one or two marriages between a man and his wife's daughter's daughter. A man's daughter's daughter must also perform some of the funeral rites for her grandfather after his wife has died.[2]

We have among the Yao, therefore, the familiar principle of

[1] See Chap. V, p. 121.

[2] She omits the ritual meal which he eats at the end of mourning to prevent himself again eating. Here she usually fills her mother's mother's place.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

the identification of alternate generations; and this is particularly significant when we realize that the tension between the filial and parental generations is most likely to find expression in the situation where a group of young adult women wish to leave a village, and their mother, if she is still alive, must make up her mind whether to stay or to follow them.

The existence of rules of succession for men, different from those for women, presents an interesting analytical problem which I have not yet fully explored. Clearly men must succeed to positions in the first ascending generation, for they are the active leaders in Yao society and those who are to succeed must be sufficiently mature to take over the responsibilities of leadership. Women, on the other hand, are usually not leaders so that succession to positions in the second ascending generation involves no difficulties. A young woman may take her mother's mother's name without involving any responsibilities of leadership. Yet the interaction of the two systems of succession presumably has some reaction on the social structure. A man's sister's daughter who succeeds to her mother's mother's position becomes the man's mother and the man's mother's brother's sister. The man's own sister becomes his mother's brother's mother.[1] The effect of this presumably is to achieve some balance of power between a man and his mother's brother. By the rule of succession for women, a man's sister to whom he is tied by the closest possible ties of kinship, and on whom he is dependent for political success, becomes his mother's brother's mother, so forming a common link between two potentially opposed persons. By the same reasoning a man's sister's daughter who is part of his security-group and who is likely to desert her mother's mother's brother to go with her mother's brother if there is a conflict, by succession becomes the sister of her mother's brother's mother's brother, so forming a unifying influence within the lineage. This problem emerged after my fieldwork was completed so that I have no evidence to support these suggestions.

Among the men, because of the struggle for political power, the opposition of alternate generations is much stronger than among women. This emerges most clearly in the institution of marriage sureties.

The duties of the marriage sureties towards their wards are

[1] I am grateful to Prof. Gluckman who pointed this out to me.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

part of the normal duties of a matrilineage leader to his kinsmen.[1] But ideally each marriage is supposed to have two marriage sureties. The first, or senior, surety is called *mukwongwa*, which was described to me as 'the log that lies at the doorway'. The picture here is of a wise old man who cannot move around too easily, but who sits at the doorway of his hut ready to give advice and information to his younger kinsmen. In contrast to this is the junior surety. He is called *mkyanuwe* or the 'bester down of dew'. He is pictured as a young man, who is vigorous about his daily tasks and who is waiting before the dew has evaporated in the morning, at the door of couples who have difficulties. He is essentially the 'one who walks about'.

The senior marriage surety is ideally supposed to be a mother's brother, while the junior marriage surety is supposed to be a brother. In fact, while the junior marriage surety is almost always a brother, though not necessarily an elder brother, the senior, for reasons which will emerge later, is frequently not a mother's brother. However, in the Yao mind the two are fixed in the relationship to each other as mother's brother and sister's son. The fundamental conflict of their positions is expressed by the opposition of the concepts of the 'recumbent log' and the 'active man'. This view is consistent with the segmentation and internal differentiation that must go on within a lineage. As the segments of the matrilineage become progressively independent of each other, the senior relatives, who formerly held them together, become less and less active in their affairs. In Yao idiom they become 'recumbent logs'.

The relationship between mother's brother and sister's son therefore is fundamentally ambivalent. By the values surrounding the concepts of descent and relationship, a sister's son and mother's brother are close kin and bound together in their attachment to a common ancestry and to a common set of living women who are in their joint care. At the same time the mother's brother, belonging as he does to the parental generation, must be respected by his sister's sons. Recalcitrant sister's sons may be made to toe the line by a number of different sanctions. A mother's brother, for example, may take his case to an arbitrator and bring the force of public opinion to bear upon his

[1] I have described the roles of the marriage sureties more fully in *Marriage among the Matrilineal Yao*.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

him. The woman in the meantime had run to Chiwale's hut half a mile away. Here she complained to the chief that Mwanza wanted to kill her. Chiwale refused to listen to her complaint and sent for Ali Kanuka. When he had come and explained the sequence of events, he continued saying that he would like to take the case to court. Chiwale, who was Ali Kanuka's wife's father's sister's son (hence a classificatory younger brother) and whose henchman Ali Kanuka was, refused to arbitrate in the case but referred it to Kawinga. On the day of the case the woman's husband came back from the Army. The case was tried and eventually the court assessors awarded a damages claim of £5 to be paid by Mwanza to his sister. The husband, at the same time, said that he could not remain married to her because whenever he saw her he would think that she had slept with her brother and in court he gave Ali Kanuka a marriage termination payment. The tension between Ali Kanuka and his 'sister's son' did not end there however. When they got back to the village Ali Kanuka remonstrated with Mwanza saying, 'Are you not ashamed to have married your sister?' Mwanza said that he could not stand that sort of thing and went back to live uxorilocally.

A crucial point in this case history is that the women did not like Mwanza. Almost certainly there would have been a split in the village had the women had more confidence in Mwanza. The tension between Ali Kanuka and Mwanza, although the conflict is inter-generational, started, as it consistently does, from the relationships of a man to the women of his matrilineage. Without the support of the women, younger brothers or sister's sons are impotent against the power of their senior relatives. It is only when they can induce the women to follow them and to leave their rivals that they can found a new village and thereby begin to earn prestige. Therefore, although the men are the active agents in bringing about a physical act of fission, they are in fact only making manifest a situation which is latent within the lineage.

The position of the senior male matrilineal relative is of fundamental importance in questions involving succession. His position is seen most clearly in the dominant matrilineage, in which the name of the village is inherited. The Yao practise 'positional succession'. A man not only succeeds to his mother's brother's name but also to the position of the mother's brother in the social structure as a whole.[1] It follows that when the

[1] See Chap. V, p. 121.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

613 621 successor takes over the name of his predecessor, he assumes the position in the structure of the village as a whole, which was occupied by the first of that name. For example, when Cikoja VI succeeded to the name he moved to the position of Cikoja IV (who founded the village), *as far as* the members of the village were concerned. He is therefore the senior male matrilineal kinsman in the dominant lineage in the village, and Salimu, in spite of being more senior by generation, must call him mother's brother. The man who succeeds to the name of the founder of a village, or to the name of any important matrilineage member, therefore represents its maximum span to the members. From one point of view he is founding ancestor of the dominant lineage and is, therefore, lifted above the conflicts of the component sections; but from another, since he represents all other sections to any one segment, he is involved in all the conflicts. Cikoja, for example, is the senior marriage surety to all the members of the dominant matrilineage in his village, while the junior marriage sureties are drawn from the component lineage segments. In this way he unites the dominant lineage in that all difficulties are brought to him by the junior sureties. But the junior sureties accuse Cikoja of being a sorcerer when they see him as a representative of an opposed section. Whatever the degree of segmentation within a matrilineage, he is still a mother's brother to them all, and all the component segments are united through him. This is a concept aptly figured in the synonym for a senior matrilineage member, a village headman, or a *chief chinoje* — a bundle of grass; that is, a person in whom many different members are bound into one.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

CHAPTER VII

THE PATRILATERALLY-LINKED GROUPS

The Position of the Husband and Father

MATRILINEAL descent provides the principle on which the smallest of villages, the hamlets, are organized. But not all villages are made up of huts owned by members of one matrilineage as in Ali Kanuka's village.[1] Most villages in fact have a more complex internal organization which may be epitomized as a dominant matrilineage which carries the village headmanship, and a number of subsidiary lineages linked to the dominant lineage by various means. The most common of these is the patrilateral link whereby the subsidiary lineage is connected to the dominant lineage through one of its men.[2] The subsidiary lineage develops in the village from the matrilateral descendants of the virilocally-married wife of one of the men of the dominant lineage, so that the subsidiary lineage, initially at least, are the 'children' of one of the men of the headman's matrilineage. Their peculiar position in the village must be seen in the light of the general position of the father in Yao society.

The father, obviously enough, is also a son-in-law; obvious as this may seem in English it is charged with meaning for the Yao. When parents-in-law refer to their daughters' husbands they use the term *akwegwe*; and they in turn are called this by their sons-in-law. But the *akwewini* are essentially men who are living uxorilocally and *akwewini* is the general status of being a man in uxorilocal marriage. *Mkwewini* thus cannot be translated into English without periphrasis and I translate it merely as 'husband'. I emphasize, however, that wherever I speak of *husbands* or the *husband* in general I mean 'husbands in uxorilocal marriage'. The Yao assume that marriages as a rule are uxorilocal. Usually the young husband builds a house in his wife's village and is expected to live there for the rest of his life. But

[1] See Chap. VI, pp. 140-2.

[2] I have called this type of village structure the 'dumy' in my earlier essay, 'The Yao of Southern Nyasaland', *Seven Tribes*, 332 ff.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

he cannot escape the fact that in his wife's village he is only a 'billy goat' and that his 'true home' is in his matrilineal village. The pull of the matrilineal village on him, therefore, is always very strong and he is constantly trying to return there. His wife's responsible relatives are constantly trying to avoid this because they know that in time they are likely to lose the children who will probably settle in their father's village if they grow up there. In general, therefore, a husband must have a very good reason before he can get his wife's kinsmen's permission to take her and her children to his village. His wife's relatives do not easily yield. But a headman must live in his own village so that nearly all headmen bring at least one of their wives into their villages. Other men sometimes succeed in doing so especially if their wives are past child-bearing, but it is typically the headman's wife who lives virilocally.

The husband's interest in returning to his matrilineal village is heightened by the fact that a man in his wife's village is looked upon as the typical man without prestige: a stranger, whose duty is largely procreative. The theme song at the installation ceremony where the husband was compared with a billy goat, and the common epithet 'chicken rooster' for a husband, reflect the attitude of the Yao towards him. In the song I quoted, the husband was said to be unable to climb high in his village of marriage, however rich he may become.[1] He is, nevertheless, an essential member of the village and the Yao say that it can succeed neither economically nor physically without his aid.

A husband becomes more important when he stays in a village for a long time. He becomes known intimately to the villagers and is conversant with their affairs. He is, therefore, able to advise on many private intra-lineage and intra-village affairs and may even become a marriage surety if there is no more suitable person available. Also in time the husband's position in the village changes. As his children grow up and become active members in the matrilineage, his position of husband becomes supplanted by his position of father, which, in a matrilineal society like that of the Yao, is significant in the same way as that of the mother's brother is in patrilineal societies.

The Yao recognize the close bond between father and child. This bond is conceived to be both social and physical and is

[1] See Chap. V, p. 119.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

593 594 economic responsibility of all the woman's children, regardless of whether he has begotten them or not. For example, gossips say that a woman married my clerk so that she could have her son initiated. The costs and fees for this boy's initiation amounted to over a pound.

593 602 The other set of rights that paternal recognition confers on the child are the moral rights against his paternal kinsmen. A person may turn to his 'father's people' (*kuxiaet*) in times of dire need, especially if one of them is rich. This right persists after divorce, though the children are adult and otherwise economically independent. For example, a woman who was married to a labour migrant needed clothes badly. She turned to Chiwalo her father, though he had been divorced from her mother for more than 15 years. People in trouble often run away to their father's village and find shelter there. A man who wanted medicine for success in gambling asked his father for it. Another who had broken a sexual taboo confessed to his father who found suitable medicine for him. In each of these relationships there was an intimate personal element.[1] A person has the moral right to appeal to his father or paternal kinsmen, but he has no legally enforceable right to demand help. He has to rely on their kindness and charity. There are few fathers who would deny their children's requests if they are reasonable, but they can if they wish to.

592 594 603 The divorce rate is high among the Yao[2] and a typical family of five uterine siblings may have three fathers. Furthermore, a man should not marry into the lineage segment where his brother has married, so that the patrilateral kinship ties of the members of matrilineages tend to spread widely in the vicinity of the village. The effect of this is that the members of the lineage as a whole have widespread connections with neighbours upon whom they may rely in times of distress. But of the individual members of the matrilineage only a few share the same group

[1] Compare Firth's description of uterine kinship among the Tikopia: '[It] is essentially by a personal bond, a bond of mutual interest and concern existing individual to individual', *The Work of Kinship*, 37.

[2] Eight of every ten men and women over the age of 40 have experienced a divorce at some time of their lives. Excluding the contingency of death a married couple have only 50 chances in 100 of living together for 10 years. For details, see *Marriage among the Machinga Yao*.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

of patrilateral kinsmen, so that these bonds are personal and distinctive for each member.

The Development of the Corporate Identity of Patrilaterally-linked Groups

The parent-child relationship is reflected in the structural relationships of a patrilateral group to the dominant matrilineage. Children are less strongly tied to their father than to their matrilineal kinsmen. Usually when a woman dies or is divorced while living virilocally, her children return to her matrilineal village. If the children are too young to express their own wishes, their mother's brother comes for them and they are formally returned to their village of origin. Occasionally children who have grown up in their father's village, especially if they have married their cross-cousins there, refuse to move back to their matrilineal village. They prefer to remain in their father's matrilineal village where they know people more intimately. In time, as they grow older, the women have daughters who may marry uxorilocally and thus a section of a foreign matrilineage begins to develop in the village.

The village as a social unit is more closely integrated when the children who are living there with their father are still young. They do not yet form a corporate group within the village. Their affairs are supposed to be controlled by their mother's brother, but in fact the headman, who is usually their father or a paternal kinsman, may settle many of their minor difficulties and find medicine for lesser illnesses, without bothering their mother's brother. When the children become adults and begin to assert their own wills the position in the village becomes more unstable. As the daughters grow up and marry, their brothers become their junior marriage survivors. If the mother's brother lives far away, the father of the children may be the senior marriage survivor. He still has a personal attachment to his children, but his [illegible] relationships with him may now become affected by structural elements as they tend to interact, with him and others, in certain situations as representatives of corporate groups. As the village develops a son takes over the position of senior marriage survivor to the headman's wife's descendants and he becomes the senior male lineage member, while his sisters' sons begin to take over responsibilities for their sorority-groups.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

The headman and father is now no longer directly concerned in the affairs of the linked lineage, and may only appear in their affairs formally as an adviser or an arbitrator in disputes. For example, he is advised of deaths in the village and of the disputes that have arisen and been settled. But this is part of his relationship to the linked lineage because of his headmanship. A fairly long-established village, therefore, contains two, three or four related lineages with complete autonomy in internal affairs yet together forming one community—one village under the leadership of the headman. As the village persists in time and successive village headmen and other men of the dominant matrilineage bring their wives into the village, related lineage segments develop from them, and the internal structure of the village becomes more and more complex.

An example of a village of this kind is Cikoja. It has 47 huts.

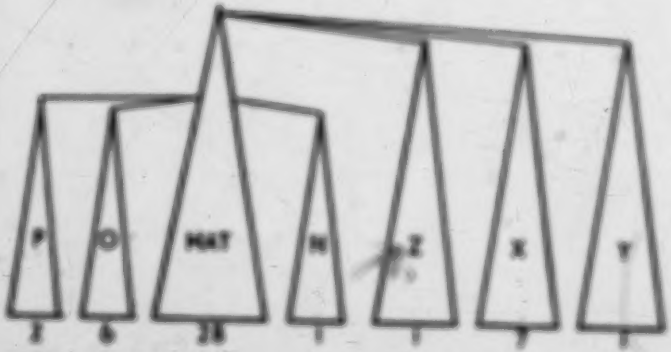

DIAGRAM 6. THE OWNERSHIP OF HUTS IN CIKOJA VILLAGE.

One of them is a dormitory for adolescent boys and we may ignore it in this analysis. Members of the dominant matrilineage live in 28 of the huts. Members of patrilineally-linked groups are living in the remaining 19 huts. There are 6 of these patrilineally-linked groups in the village and I have indicated them by the letters N, O, P, X, Y and Z. Their origin is as follows:

Z	A descendant of Cikoja IV's dau with	1 hut
X	The descendant of Cikoja IV's second wife	7 huts
Y	The descendant of Cikoja IV's third wife	1 hut

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N A descendant of Cikoja V's first wife . . . 1 hut 613
O The descendants of Cikoja V's brother's first wife . . 4 huts
P The descendants of Cikoja V's brother's second wife . . 2 huts 621

All these wives were slaves. The present Cikoja has no children.

In this table I have counted huts owned jointly by a member of the dominant matrilineage and a patrilateral group (i.e. in cross-cousin marriage) as belonging to the matrilineage: huts belonging to Z and X group as Z, etc. The exact ownership of the huts is set out in Table XXVII. It shows the number of

TABLE XXVII

OWNERSHIP OF HUTS IN CIKOJA VILLAGE

Origin of wife:	*Origin of husband:* Mat.	Z	X	Y	N	O	P	Outsid.	Wid.	Div.	Total
Mat. .	—	1	3	—	1	—	—	13	1	1	21
Z . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
X . .	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	8
Y . .	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2
N . .	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	3
O . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	5
P . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	2
Outsid.	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	2
Wid. .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Div. .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	7	1	3	—	1	1	—	29	2	3	46

Mat. = Member of the dominant matrilineage.
Z, X, Y, N, O, P = Groups linked patrilineally to the dominant matrilineage.
Outsid. = Outsiders or members of other villages.

men and women in the village who are married either to spouses from other villages or from this village, and the men and women who own huts but who are widowed and divorced. The distribution of these huts is set out in the village plan in Appendix D.

We have already seen that the social distance between sections of the matrilineage is reflected in the physical separation of their huts.[1] The social distance between the dominant matrilineage and the patrilineally-linked groups is much greater than between

[1] See Chap. VI, p. 160.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

sections of a matrilineage, and accordingly the huts of members of the dominant matrilineage are physically separated more distinctly from the huts of members of the patrilaterally-linked groups than from one another. As they develop their corporate identity the members of each matrilineage tend to build together and a little distance away from the main settlement of the other matrilineages. In Cikoja's village this tendency is seen quite plainly. There are two large patrilaterally-linked groups in the village. These are the children and matrilineal descendants of Cikoja IV's second wife (represented in the plan as N), and the children and matrilineal descendants of the first wife of Mapenera, the brother of Cikoja V (represented in the plan as O). These two groups are situated quite separately from the main matrilineal block of the village. The huts of X matrilineage are hidden from the view of the rest of the village and must be reached by a path. The space between huts of O matrilineage and the remainder of the matrilineal block is clear, but in it are some large trees and the grave of Cikoja V. The huts of the three women and the one man of N matrilineage are close together in the village but scarcely distinguishable from the huts of the main matrilineage. The huts of two women of Y matrilineage are set on the extremity of the village and are not yet separated from the huts of other lineages. Note how the huts of the villagers who have married their 'cross-cousins' are placed within the village as a whole. Huts 32 and 33 belonging to the two women of X lineage have been placed between the main block of the X matrilineage and the matrilineage of Jauma (Ma_1), who is married to one of these women. Huts 10 and 11, where members of the dominant matrilineage and the patrilaterally-linked lineage N have intermarried, are placed on the mutual fringe of these two groups. The three men of the patrilaterally-linked lineage X who are married into the dominant lineage form a little block in the north-western corner of the village. As soon as the patrilaterally-linked groups develop their identity and are able to express their autonomy, they tend to build in separate sections and to form corporate but component parts of the village.

One of the clearest ways in which the autonomy of the matrilineage is expressed is in the arrangements made about marriage matters. In Cikoja's village, Cikoja himself is senior

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

marriage surety for only one member of the linked lineages. This is Naliwa (D39), who is the oldest surviving man in all the linked matrilineages and who is looked upon as the senior among them all. Naliwa is the senior marriage surety for most of the marriages in the linked matrilineages, but Kanoli (D33) has taken over the duties for a number of his own lineage members. Table XXVIII lists the senior marriage sureties in all the

TABLE XXVIII

SENIOR MARRIAGE SURETIES IN CIKOJA VILLAGE

Surety	Rel.*	Lineage Affiliation						Total
		Mat.	Z	X	Y	N	O	
Cikoja . . .	Mat.	44	—	—	1	—	—	45
Naliwa . . .	Y	—	—	—	3	8	13	24
Kanoli . . .	X	—	3	12	—	—	—	15
Mbwana . . .	X	—	1	3	—	—	—	3
Sowoli . . .	X	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Other† . . .	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
Total . . .	—	45	4	15	4	8	13	91

* This is the lineage affiliation of the senior marriage surety. Cikoja is the headman and automatically senior lineage member. Naliwa is the most senior surviving member of Y lineage. Sowoli is most senior in X, followed by his younger brother Mbwana and then his sister's son Kanoli.

† This is Cikoja's own marriage. His perpetual younger brother Mbande is his senior surety.

Note: There were two marriages in P lineage for which I did not record the marriage sureties.

marriages I recorded in Cikoja village. Here, age is important. The male members in the lineage of Cikoja V's wife and of Maperera's wives are all much younger than the members of Cikoja IV's wives' lineages. The descendants of Cikoja V's wife and of Maperera's wives all have *junior* sureties from their own lineage, but so far none has become a *senior* marriage surety.

As time goes on, the affairs of the linked lineage, therefore, become regulated more and more within the lineage. The headman and perpetual father recedes from the picture but is never entirely obliterated even in his relation to a linked-matrilineage which moves out to found its own village.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

• 613 621 622 The father and headman is almost forgotten in those villages which, though founded by him, do not contain any of his matrilineage. Sometimes men who have a number of adult children move away and found small villages of their own. I have struck a few villages of this type on the outskirts of White settlement areas at Nanyuki and near Zomba. The man has been a servant of the Whites as, say, an estate labourer. After ten or fifteen years on the estate he decides to stop working. Local men have probably married his daughters and he has made acquaintances with local people, while his attachment to his home village has become attenuated. Consequently, with his daughters he sets up his own homestead somewhere near the estate. He is probably both senior and junior marriage surety for his daughters' marriages, and also responsible for the welfare of his children and grandchildren. He reports serious illnesses and deaths to his wife's brother or her male senior kinsman, but otherwise he runs the internal affairs of his village as if he were the senior matrilineal kinsman. But as his sons grow up the security-group organization exerts itself, and soon his adult sons begin to take over the more arduous duties concerning the affairs of their sisters. They now walk to a sister's husband's home to tell of the husband's illnesses, or trudge for miles to find a diviner when one of the babies is ill. Their father still retains control over the village land and other important affairs concerning the village as a whole. At this stage in its history the hamlet will be known by his name. When he dies the control of the hamlet passes to his eldest son, and now it assumes once again the pattern of the ordinary Yao village. For a while it may retain the name of the father, but in due course it begins to be known by the name of the son. Gradually the father fades into the background and the son comes to the fore. Eventually, when the son dies, his sister's son assumes control over the village and inherits the name. Now there are probably some of the original headman's sons' children living in the village and forming the nucleus of a linked matrilineage. In spite of the foundation of the village as an extended family, the lineage principle soon begins to mould the village into the typical Yao pattern. It is clear from many of my genealogies in Malawi area that when villages first moved in they were made up of a man and wife and children. Now after, say, twenty years the 'extended family' pattern has com-

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

plainly disappeared and we have in its place a straightforward localized matrilineage as in Ali Kamuka village.

The Headman as the Link between the Dominant Lineage and the Patrilaterally-linked Groups

A headman's position when his own children or the children of his predecessor have started to operate as a corporate group in the village is clearly difficult. To the dominant matrilineage they are outsiders, and they are a source of tension in the more complex villages. This, in essence, is the situation about which the officiating headmen have almost certainly warned him at the installation ceremony, when they told him to beware of his wife's chatter, because it may bring about a split of the village. The headman occupies a position of jural authority over his matrilineal relatives. He has succeeded to the name of his mother's brother and is structurally the most senior matrilineal kinsman in the village. He is directly responsible in court and outside it for the behaviour and welfare of the matrilineage members. At the same time he is personally attached to his children by ties of intimacy and eminence. Where there is a conflict between his own children and the matrilineage members he is placed in an invidious position. By legal right he should support his lineage members, by moral right he cannot spurn his children. What he tries to do as a rule is to browbeat his matrilineal relatives into submission to maintain the peace within the village. He runs the risk, however, of alienating the support of his sisters who may turn to his younger brothers and leave the village. This is what happened in Mpenda's village, as I have outlined earlier.[1] Here, it will be recalled, a quarrel started between two young girls over a pounding mortar. It spread to the mothers of the girls, who were the headman's wife and his sister. The headman tried to browbeat his sister into submission, but she immediately turned to her younger brother. The result was that the headman lost his sisters to his younger brother.

The way in which the two opposed groups in the village crystallize out into opposed factions cannot be more clearly shown than in the sequence of events in Mpukata village, in January 1947.

Mpukata was the headman of the village, and he had three younger brothers, Wakusa, Mwinsa and Nawalaya. Ali Cibwana, Mpukata's

[1] See Chap. VI, p. 133.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

578 adult son, went to Walusa one day and borrowed a chicken. Some
● 613 days afterwards Walusa asked for payment for the chicken. Ali
622 Cibwana took offence at the way in which Walusa asked for payment and told him so. Walusa remarked that Ali Cibwana was insolent and insisted on the payment for the chicken. Ali Cibwana now said that if his father's brother insisted on asking in this rude way he would not be paid back at all. The tempers of the two men became more and more frayed until at last Walusa threw Ali Cibwana to the ground. When Saunda, Ali Cibwana's younger brother, saw this he grabbed up a stick and came up to Walusa and asked him why he had thrown his elder brother down. Walusa had hardly time to answer before Saunda had struck him. At this Walusa's younger brothers joined in the fight. Mpakata now rushed up and started to support his sons against his younger brothers. When Mpakata's sisters and sisters' daughters, who were pounding, heard this, they took up their pounding pestles (poles about five feet long and three inches in diameter) and came running to Mpakata's younger brothers' assistance. When Mpakata saw these women coming with their poles he dashed into his house and emerged with a stick with which he defended himself. The noise and clamour had by this time attracted a number of strangers from a nearby village and they were able to pacify Mpakata's villagers. The matrilineal relatives of Mpakata gathered in one part of the village and Walusa told them they ought to leave. They decided, nevertheless, 'to say goodbye'[1] to Kaumbwe, who was a perpetual elder brother of Mpakata. Kaumbwe called in an unrelated village headman named Idi, and they held a meeting in the village the next day.

The dispute was discussed in the presence of the arbitrator. Walusa said he wished to leave the village with his sisters. Idi, however, told him that he should not do this but that they should take the matter up to Chiwalo's court. On an agreed day Mpakata and his children and matrilineal relatives went to Chiwalo's court where the case was arbitrated on by Capola who lived near to Mpakata. He found Mpakata guilty and ordered him to pay 10*s.* to Walusa. At the same time he told Walusa that he was not to take the female members of the matrilineage away from the village. And there the matter rested.

A village headman in Yao 'binds the village',[2] and when the village is made up of linked groups as well as his matrilineal kin,

[1] Ostensibly to say goodbye but in fact to air their grievances.

[2] *Akatowa mudi.* The word *katowa* may also mean to build. Yao houses are built by binding poles together with ropes and then filling the gaps with mud.

[342]

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

the significance of this formulation of his position is clear. It is when he shows partiality that the village under him is likely to break up. If he sides with his children his matrilineal kin are almost sure to move out; if he sides with his matrilineal kin, his children are likely either to return to their matrilineal village or, if they are adult, split off to set up a village of their own. The situation is precarious for the headman and it is very difficult for him to avoid a split in the village if he cannot keep the two opposed groups at peace.

My investigations show that few villages have contained patrilaterally-linked groups through the lives of two village headmen, unless these groups were descended from slaves. When the headman dies his successor assumes his name and social rôle. He also assumes the position of father towards the remaining children, who are in fact his cross-cousins. But his relationship towards them is not the same as that of father to children. The intimate link of the blood tie has been lost and the relationship becomes formalized. As more and more headmen succeed the genealogical link between the patrilaterally-linked groups and the dominant matrilineage becomes more and more remote, and the relationship becomes more and more casual. What usually happens is that shortly after the death of the headman and father, the patrilaterally-linked group takes exception to what the new headman does or says and moves off to found a village of its own. The case history I quoted earlier [1] brought this out clearly. The new headman had had intercourse with the wives of his 'son'. The son complained to the arbitrators in the dispute that 'he should have been as a father to me, and he is not'. The result was that the son refused compensation, and moved out of the village with his sisters to build on his own. When this happens the father-son relationship between the two villages is preserved and perpetuated, but the link is entirely formal and co-operation between them is limited to mutual attendance at funerals.

Patrilaterally-linked Groups as the Legacy of Slavery

Slave-groups in a village are usually linked patrilaterally to the dominant lineage. This is because the headman who was usually the captor of the slaves kept the women as concubines. They were given quasi-child status in the village, so that their children

[1] 'The Split of Cikumba Village', see Chap. V, p. 127.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

were called *yizhulu* (grandchildren) by the headman, who in turn was called *ambuje* (grandparent or master) by the slaves. The grandchild-grandparent relationship became fused with the master-slave relationship as the use of the term *ambuje* for master suggests. The slave descendants as a rule have no relatives in the neighbourhood. The Yao always redeemed unrelated kin whom they found in slavery by replacing them with other slaves, usually taken or bought from the Nyanja, Ngoni or Bisa. Where there are slave-groups in a village to-day, they have frequently been bought or captured in distant places, so that their kinsmen have been unable to trace them. How much this

Diagram 5. The Ownership of Huts in Mpumbe Village.

has prevented slave-groups from leaving Yao villages I cannot say. Certainly before the White conquest members of a slave-group could only leave their captor's village at the risk of death. But after the White conquest it seems that many of the slave-groups left to set up their own villages. Many, on the other hand, no doubt for personal reasons, stayed with their captors in their villages, and are there to-day. In Cikoja's village, for example, there are six of these groups. Some are not very large, but only 20 of the 46 huts are owned by members of the dominant matrilineage who are not married to descendants of slaves. Eight are owned by members of the dominant matrilineage who have married slave descendants, and the remainder, 18 huts, are owned by members of the slave-groups who have married outsiders. This is a typical distribution of hut ownership. At one extreme is the pure matrilineal village such as Ali Kasunka's and at the other is the village in which the dominant lineage is barely represented. A village of this type was Mpumbe

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

when I visited it in 1947.[1] The basic structure of this village is set out in Diagram 5. Here the headman[2] was the last surviving member of the dominant matrilineage. The founder of the village, his mother's brother, had thirteen slave concubines. Some of these were barren but others produced children to give this complex structure. In this village the 55 huts were arranged in 16 *different* affiliations. The *details* are set out in Table XXIX. These groups were held together by Mpumbe IV, old, blind and doddering as he was. The virtual leader of the village was his elder brother's son, a man in his late forties or early fifties. When Mpumbe died, late in 1948, the people said that it was because of the sorcery of his brother's son who wished to take over the name of the village. This led to a dispute, which ended in the brother's son's leaving to found a new village about 15 miles away. A distant sister's son, as I have said, succeeded to the headmanship, and the reduced village was retained under this new leader.

However, this is an extremely unusual type of village as most villages, if they are not simple matrilineal groups, have only one patrilaterally-linked group living with them. The reasons for this are firstly, that if patrilaterally-linked matrilineages develop at all in the modern villages, they move out very soon after the death of their progenitor, and, secondly, that there are very few of the old slave-raiders' villages left intact.

Cross-cousin and Other Kinds of Intra-village Marriages

A most important factor in the welding of patrilaterally-linked groups to the dominant matrilineage is marriage. The tradition of cross-cousin marriage is very strong among the Yao. A person may marry either type of cross-cousin but in practice preference is given to a father's sister's daughter—i.e. the woman is married to her mother's brother's son. There is a special term for cross-cousins, *anŵani*, which is used by either male or female talking to either sex. Between cross-cousins, especially cross-sexually, there is a joking-relationship which may vary all the way from ribald joking to sexual advances. Some of my male informants say that sexual intercourse may take place between cross-cousins

[1] See also Chap. VI, p. 161, and Chap. III, p. 59.

[2] He died late in 1948 and was succeeded by a distant 'sister's son' from the village of his perpetual son, Ngongondo.

[text continues on p. 199]

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT? Yao FT?

613
621

TABLE XXIX

Ownership of Huts in Mpumbe Village

Affiliation	Affiliation of men:																									Total
Mat.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IW	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
IWS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
SW	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	-	1	-	-	-	7
SIS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SW	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	6
SWS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	3
SW	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
SWS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
SW	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SWS	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	4
SW	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
Mpu	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	4
Mpu	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	5
XB	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	3
XBS	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Out.	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Div.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wid.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	1	-	1	2	1	2	-	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	27	6	6	-	-	-	33

Notes. This table is on the same principle as Table XXVII. Here IW stands for the matrilineal descendants of Mpumbe I's first wife, sWS for the matrilineal descendants of his second wife's son. Mpü stands for the matrilineal descendants of Mpumbe II's wife, and of course if she is alive she is included in the group. XB are the descendants of a classificatory brother of Mpumbe I. I am uncertain of his exact genealogical relationship to Mpumbe I. There are two huts not in this table. Hut 23 is occupied by Mpumbe II's late daughter's husband. Instead of moving back to his matrilineal village, this man has brought another woman into Mpumbe's. Hut 16 is occupied by the widow of Capela (Mpumbe I's 23) and she has had no children.

In a village as complex as this the classification of the ownership of huts becomes arbitrary. Because of the amount of intermarriage between the component lineages most individuals can trace their descent from Mpumbe I by two or three lines. Here I have classified people into lineages by matrilineal descent as the first criterion. I have classified them into groups after that by one patrilineal link rather than by two, etc.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT? Yao FT?

601 A person calls his father's mother's brother's daughter and father's
605 father's sister's daughter, 'mother'; his father's mother's brother's son, or his father's father's sister's son, 'mother's brother'. Diagram 6 illustrates this. This is consistent with the assumption that each parent has married his cross-cousin.

56 Conversation with informants gives the impression that cross-cousin marriages are very common. They say, for example, that every man's first marriage ought to be to his cross-cousin. But in fact, of 103 first marriages, only 13 per cent were to real or classificatory cross-cousins, though 21 per cent were to other types of kinsmen. Marriage to other types of kinsmen are loosely called cross-cousin marriages, and often what has been called a cross-cousin marriage in conversation turns out to be marriage to a cross-cousin's daughter or something similar. This may be the reason why casual conversation leads one to imagine that cross-cousin marriage is so frequent.

601 But cross-cousinship is particularly significant when seen in
605 relation to village structure. Typically, villages, if they are not
613 built around a simple matrilineage, are composed of a dominant matrilineage and one or more lineages linked patrilineally to it. Sometimes there are groups in a village which are connected by a patrilineal link to a matrilineage which is in turn linked patrilineally to the dominant lineage. In other words, there are some lineages connected by a double patrilineal link to the dominant lineage. But this is not common. These linked groups have arisen because one or more of the men of the dominant lineage have brought their wives to live in their village. The set of kinship terms applied to members of the linked lineage by members of the dominant lineage are shown in Diagram 7. We have already seen that Ego, whether man or woman, calls his or her mother's mother's brother's son or daughter 'father' or 'female father'. This usage is consistent with the assumption that one's mother ought to have married her mother's brother's son so that the mother's maternal uncle's son should be called 'father'. On the same reasoning, one's mother's mother's brother's daughter should be one's father's sister and the appropriate term 'female father' is accordingly applied. Because uxorilocal marriage is the custom, Ego's mother's mother's brother's son marries out of the village and his children belong to another lineage. The children of Ego's mother's mother's

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

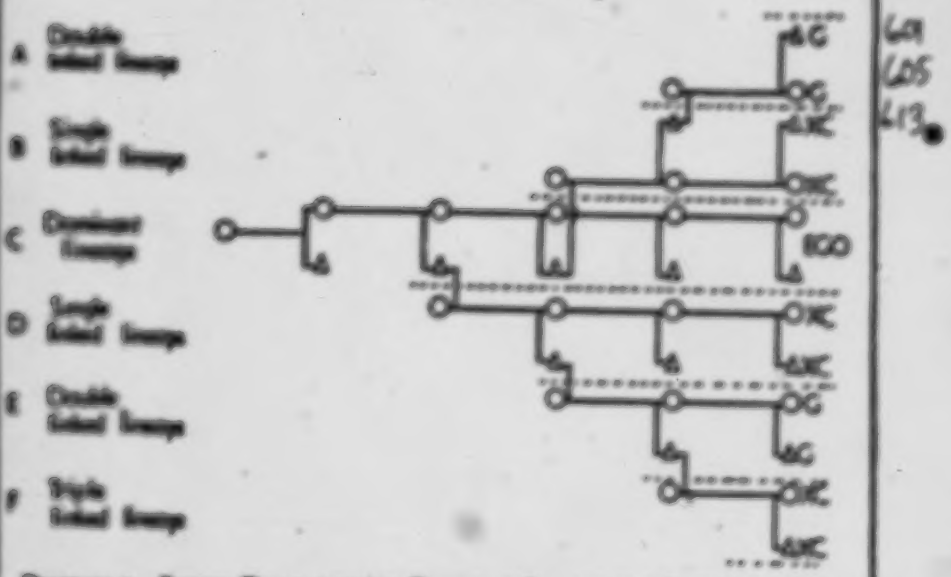


DIAGRAM 5. KINSHIP TERMS BETWEEN DOMINANT LINEAGE AND PATRILATERALLY-LINKED GROUPS.

brother's daughter, however, are members of the linked lineage and they are called 'cross-cousin' by Ego and members of the dominant lineage in Ego's generation. The children of 'cross-cousins' are called 'my children'. Hence, Ego and those in his generation in the dominant lineage call all those in the first descending generation in the linked lineage 'my children'.

I have used as an example a lineage which is linked to Ego's lineage through his mother's mother's brother. But the kinship terminology is unaltered if the link occurs in any ascending generation. In Diagram 7 I have set out the kinship terms applied by the dominant lineage to members in the linked lineage where the connection is through Ego's mother's mother's mother's brother.

The argument would run as follows:

Ego's MM calls Ego's MMMBD cross-cousin.
Therefore Ego's M calls Ego's MMMBD female father;
therefore Ego's M calls Ego's MMMBDD cross-cousin;
therefore Ego calls Ego's MMMBDD female father;
therefore Ego calls Ego's MMMBDDD cross-cousin.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

601 To Ego therefore, in a lineage linked through one patrilateral link:
685 Any person in the first ascending generation is 'father' or
613 'female father'.
Any person in the same generation is 'cross-cousin'.
Any person in the first descending generation is 'child'.

Those in the second ascending generation are called 'grandparent' and those in the second descending generation are called 'grandchildren'. By the merging of alternate generations, those in the second ascending and second descending generation may also be called 'cross-cousin'.

Where the subsidiary lineage is connected to the dominant lineage through two patrilateral links the kinship terms for siblings is applied to Ego's generation. In Diagram 7 the linked lineage marked A is connected to the dominant lineage through Ego's MAMS. Ego calls his mother's mother's brother's son 'father' and, therefore, calls his mother's mother's brother's sons' children by the appropriate sibling terms.

If a subsidiary lineage were connected through three patrilateral links the kinship nomenclature would be the same as if there were only one link. Lineages connected to dominant lineages through two or more patrilateral links are very rare. Most subsidiary lineages are connected through one patrilateral link only. In any village the generation differences between members of dominant and subsidiary lineages tend to be obscured. The Yao tend to see the component lineages as wholes, and therefore speak of the relationships between members of the dominant lineage and members of the subsidiary lineages in general as 'cross-cousinship' (*tisuwani*). It is only in special situations that the exact relationship becomes important.

605 The pattern of behaviour between cross-cousins is consistent
578 with this view of their rôles in the make-up of a village. In the
621 typical Yao village there are two or three groups who are united in their extra-village affairs but opposed in internal relationships. Their hostility to each other comes to the surface at the slightest provocation, but they are, nevertheless, co-villagers. They are kin and yet not kin, because the Yao look upon kinship as primarily matrilineal. They talk of the link through the father as 'not proper kinship'. The hostility between the members of the different cross-cousin groups in the village is dissipated

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT? Yao FT?

strangers. Meantime, the seceding group moves into some other village area at a distant place, where they are strangers themselves. The result is that kinship soon ceases to be the organizing principle in local areas, and the principle of primacy takes its place. Hence, primary[1] kinship provides the principle on which the relationships among village headmen, and therefore villages, may be organized in a local area, for only a relatively short time. Before long, for a variety of reasons, the smaller villages move away and their sites are taken by others.

Primary matrilineal kinship on the other hand retains its significance as the means whereby relationships are organized within villages. In other words, outside the lineages of the ruling families it is very difficult to record a genealogy which does more than link the component parts of a village. Beyond this genealogies are socially insignificant. Therefore, since villages are continually breaking up, genealogies are usually shallow. Once a group has broken away to found a new village, its exact genealogical link with the parent village tends to be forgotten and replaced by a formalized link of perpetual kinship between the two village headmen.

Yao society, therefore, is not 'organic' in the way that Fortes describes Tallensi society: it is not 'governed by the same principles at all levels and in every sector of the social structure';[2] instead different principles of organization apply at different levels of Yao society. Thus the shallow lineages that form the cores of villages are internally segmented. Villages are composed of matrilineages linked to each other usually through patrilateral ties, ties which are initially primary but become perpetual. Chiefdoms, on the other hand, may be seen as organizations of villages ranked in relation to each other and to the chief in terms of their perpetual kinship links, their antecedents, and their strength of following.

The same groups of matrilineal kinsmen may interact in three different fields of social relationships. Firstly, they may form a segment within a matrilineage. Secondly, they may form a group in a village linked initially by a primary and later by a perpetual patrilateral tie to the headman. Thirdly, if they

[1] I.e. kinship that can actually be traced as against 'putative' or 'perpetual' kinship.

[2] Fortes, *The Web of Kinship*, 241.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

621 should break away to found a new village they may become a
571 Newcomer and relatively junior hamlet in political relationships
with other villages in a local area of a chiefdom.

613 The group of kinsmen in each situation exhibits different degrees of corporate identity. As part of a lineage the identity of the group, except in unusual circumstances, is merged in the identity of the lineage. As part of a village the identity of the group appears clearly enough in intra-village affairs, but is merged in the identity of the village otherwise. It is only when the group can set up as a village of its own that its identity is finally established, that is, when the group becomes fully autonomous.

The identity of a group of matrilineal kinsmen therefore varies with the extent to which matrilineal ties with other kinsmen are stressed. They can emphasize their independence of their kinsmen by playing down the link between them. A linked lineage in a village emphasizes its *patrilateral* link with the dominant lineage and so maintains its identity within its village of residence. The members do not consider themselves a part of a matrilineage which is dominant in some other village. By the same process a newly-founded hamlet does not emphasize its detailed and intimate links with its parent village, but tends to subsume these into a formal, perpetual relationship between the respective village headmen.

In Yao society, therefore, we may distinguish three orders or levels of social grouping:

1. The matrilineage which consists of ranked lineage segments.
2. The village which consists of ranked matrilineages.
3. The chiefdom which consists of ranked villages.

It is only at the most fundamental of these levels, i.e. within the matrilineage, that matrilineal descent provides a principle for organizing group relations. At the next level, i.e. within the village, matrilineal kinship gives way to other types of primary kinship between key personalities in the structure. At the third level, i.e. within the chiefdom, kinship appears only in the form of the highly formalized 'perpetual' kinship—the actual links may well have been forgotten long ago. The same kinship term may be applied between personalities at all three levels of organization, but the content of the term changes according to the field of interaction.

APPENDIX B

GENEALOGY, HUT COUNT AND VILLAGE PLAN: ALI KASUNKA VILLAGE

Hut numbers in brackets after the names in the genealogy.
Other symbols: d = dead; mm = married man; bm = labour migrant; c = below age of puberty; k = kitchen.

361
613
631

Hut Ownership

Hut No.	Owner	Gen. Ref.
1	Bi. Kasunka	
2	Bi. Mumba	
3	Bi. Nawa	
4	Alidje	
5	Bi. Tale	
6	Mwenano	
7	Ali Kasunka	
8	Mbabenyao	
9	Atawila	

Village Plan: Ali Kasunka
(Not to Scale)

2: Mitchell E-S (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Tao FT7

APPENDIX C

SKELETON GENEALOGY, HUT COUNT AND VILLAGE PLAN: MINE SECTION OF MAJAJA VILLAGE

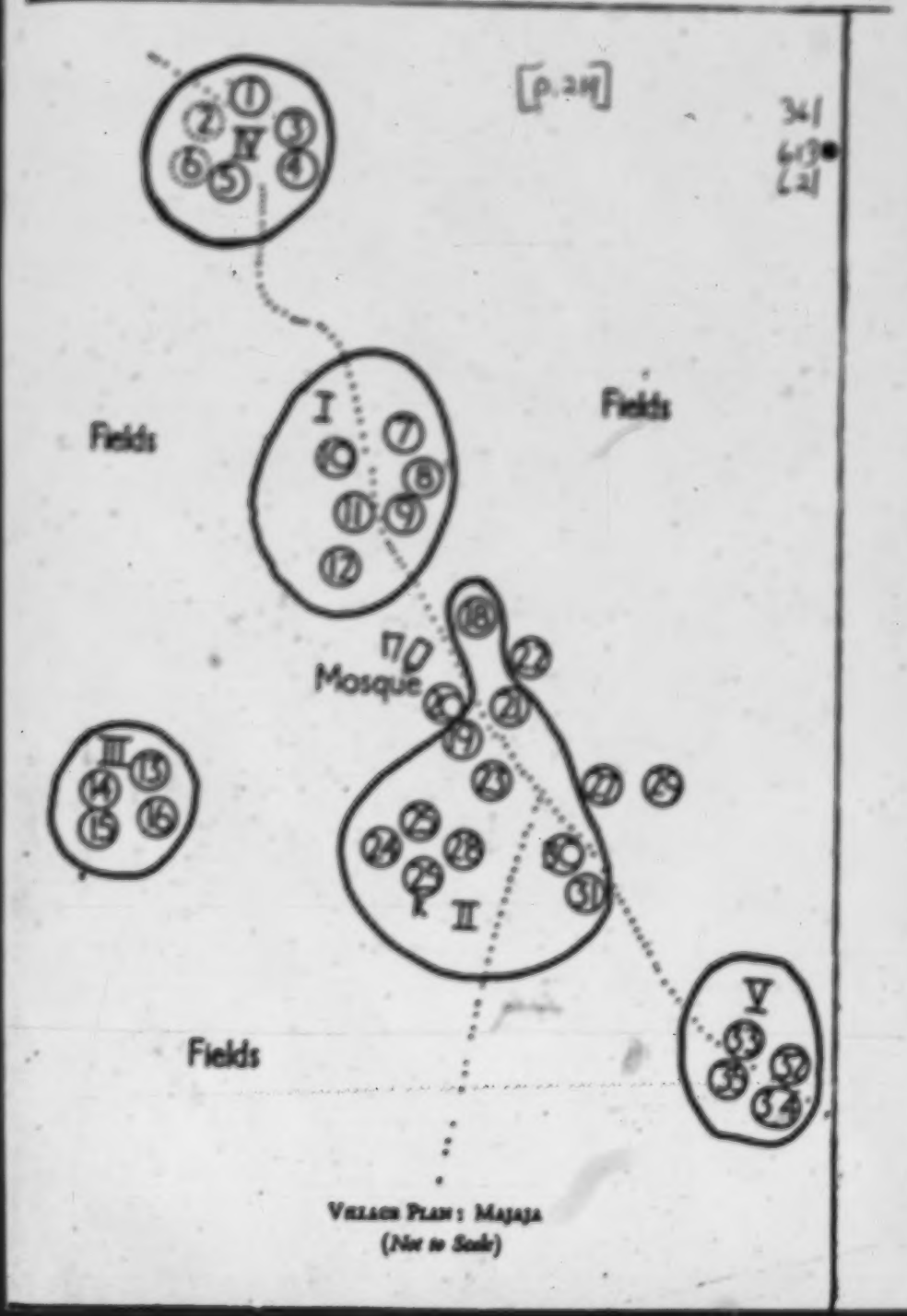
Only hut owners are shown in the genealogy.

Hut Count

Hut No.	Owner	Gen. Ref.	Hut No.	Owner	Gen. Ref.
1	Moni	B4	19	Bt. Taimo	D6
2	Boyzy		20	Kitchen to hut 18	
3	Ambiengle	C8	21	Bt. Wori	D7
4	Girls' dormitory		22	Ngwalaka	
5	Kyoli	D11	23	Bt. Toyali	D8
6	Dimmil		24	Bt. Saidi	D9
7	Bt. Nyali	D1	25	Bt. Saidi	D10
8	Bt. Mbangwi	D5	26	Bt. Gwenambe	C4
9	Bt. Dawa	E1	27	Ali Asini	D4
10	Bt. Wamba	D2	28	Boys' dormitory	
11	Ambengle	C1	29	Bt. Cimengo	C5
12	Bolya	B1	30	Bt. Juma	B2
13	Kimbi	C6	31	Asanyanga	D8
14	Bt. Mbenje	C5	32	Palengeje	B3
15	Amina	B3	33	Bt. Majaja	C12
16	Bt. Cibwana	C7	34	Ambengle	C11
17	Mongwe		35	Elki	C10
18	Cibwi	C2		Lusi	

The following huts are not included in the genealogy:

Hut 2—Boyzy.
Hut 4—Girls' dormitory.
Hut 6—Dimmil.
Hut 17—Mongwe.
Hut 20—Kitchen to Hut 18.
Hut 22—Ngwalaka, a non-relative.
Hut 27—Boys' dormitory.
Hut 29—Bt. Juma, a relative of Ngwalaka.



Village Plan: Majaja
(Not to Scale)

APPENDIX D

GENEALOGY AND HUT COUNT: CIKOJA VILLAGE

Hut Count

Hut No.	Wife's name	Gen. Ref.	Name of husband	Gen. Ref.
1	Amumalo	D14	Mbowa	C11
2	Ayesi	E8	Kasili	D13
3	(Boys' dormitory)			
4	Bt. Tepesi	F17	Magalo	E30
5	Bt. Bulo	E19	(outsider)	
6	Asiya	D11	(outsider)	
7	Bt. Amuma	E14	(outsider)	
8	Alisi	D16	Ali Mbowalo	C13
9	Lusijalo	E13	(outsider)	
10	Ajuma	E15	Musa	D7
11	Bt. Mwemedi	G10	Mbowalo	D10
12	Bt. Bwana Ito	F16	(outsider)	
13	Bt. Amina	E4	(outsider)	
14	Andaya	E9	(outsider)	
15	Alima	E30	Kajolo	F20
16	Bt. Idrissa	D19	(outsider)	
17	Nawema	E60	Idrissa B.	D3
18	Bt. Kazunga	D30	(outsider)	
19	(outsider)		Ali Tepesi	E30
20	Alima	D22	(outsider)	
21	Aliya	D23	(deceased)	
22	Kalingulo	E38	(outsider)	
23	Akumbiriye	E31	(outsider)	
24	Bt. Ciwina	E33	(outsider)	
25	Bt. Mwenye	C16	(outsider)	
26	Bt. Mwanjalo	E35	(outsider)	
27	Alisi	E37	(outsider)	
28	Bt. Cisinga	E39	(outsider)	
29	Asideya	E36	(outsider)	
30	Tewenaje	E34	(outsider)	
31	Bt. Ulanga	D34	(outsider)	
32	Bt. Likomba	E53	Juma	F7
33	Bt. Cikwenga	F64	(outsider)	
34	(outsider)		Cilimba	F5
35	Bt. Madi	F10	(outsider)	
36	Bt. Aliya	F11	(outsider)	

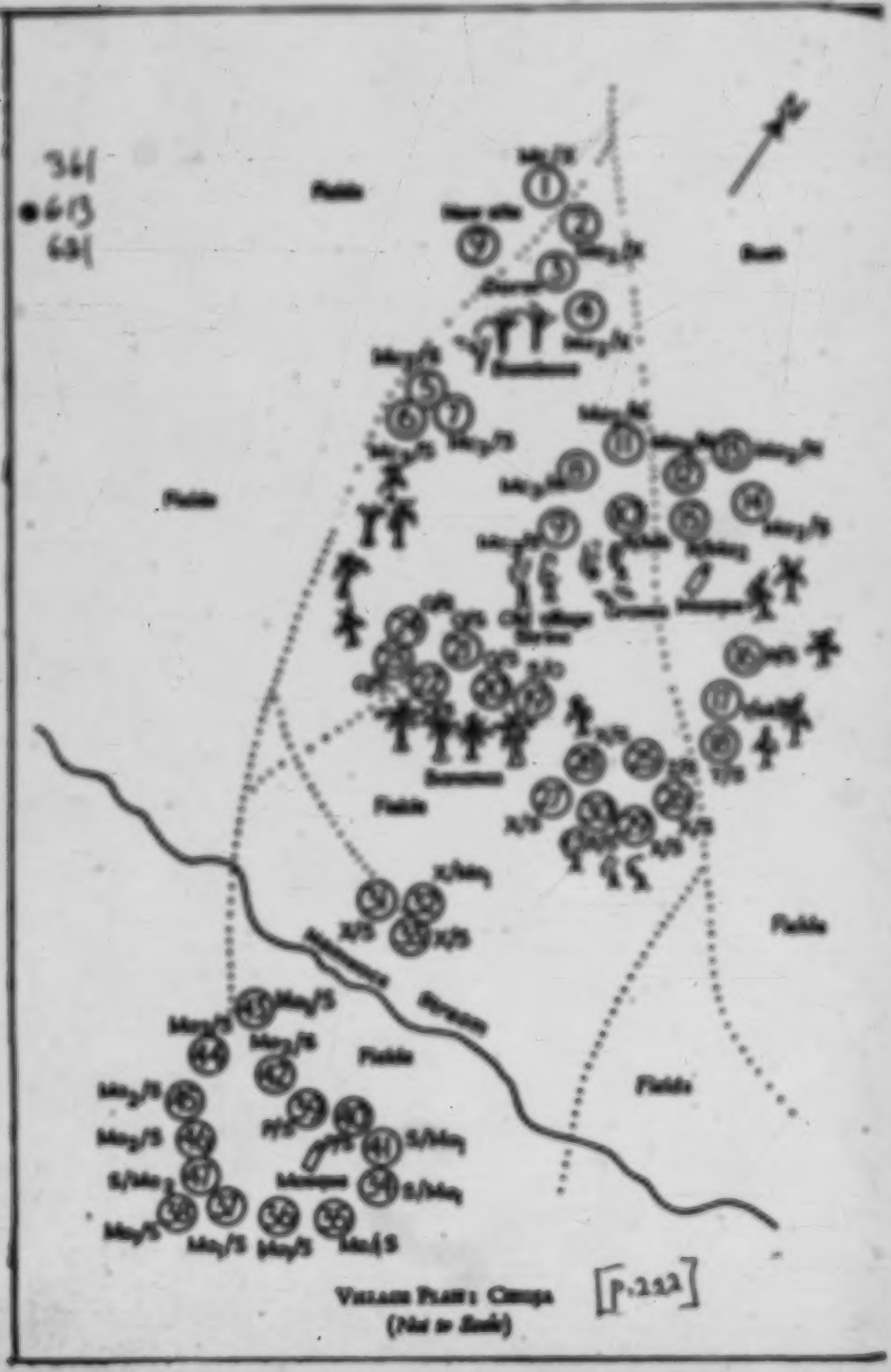
Appendix D

Hey Canon—continued

Hey No.	Will's name	Gen. Ref.	Name of husband	Gen. Ref.
32	Dr. Hobbs	D10	[illegible]	
33	Dr. Elton	D10	[illegible]	
34	Amelia	D10	[illegible]	
35	Dr. Magnus	D10	[illegible]	
36	[illegible]	D10	[illegible]	
37	Hugh	D10	Kent	Fy
38	Dr. Idhren	D10	[illegible]	
39	Ayesha	D10	[illegible]	
40	Ezekiel	D10	[illegible]	
41	Adriana	D10	[illegible]	
42	[illegible]	D10	Chicago VI	By

Note: The genealogies for Appendices B, C and D have been inserted as folding plates at the end of the book.

2: Mitchell B-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT? Yao FT?



Vietnam Print: Chuyen
(Nui or Suoi)

[p.222]

KEY TO CHOJA VILLAGE PLAN

Mk_1 — Senior segment of dominant matrilineage, i.e. descendants of Nalinga (Ck). 361 613 ● 624

Mk_2 — Second segment of dominant matrilineage, i.e. descendants of Dr. Mbewala (Ck).

Mk_3 — Third segment of dominant matrilineage, i.e. descendants of Lungila (Ck).

Mq_1 — Descendants of Andoya (Dv).

Mq_2 — Descendants of Amukowa (Dv).

Mq_3 — Descendants of Amumala (Dv4).

Mq_4 — Descendants of Asiya (Dv5).

Mq_5 — Descendants of Abasi (Dv6).

N, O, P, X, Y, Z — Patrilineally-linked lineages.

$ — Outsiders.

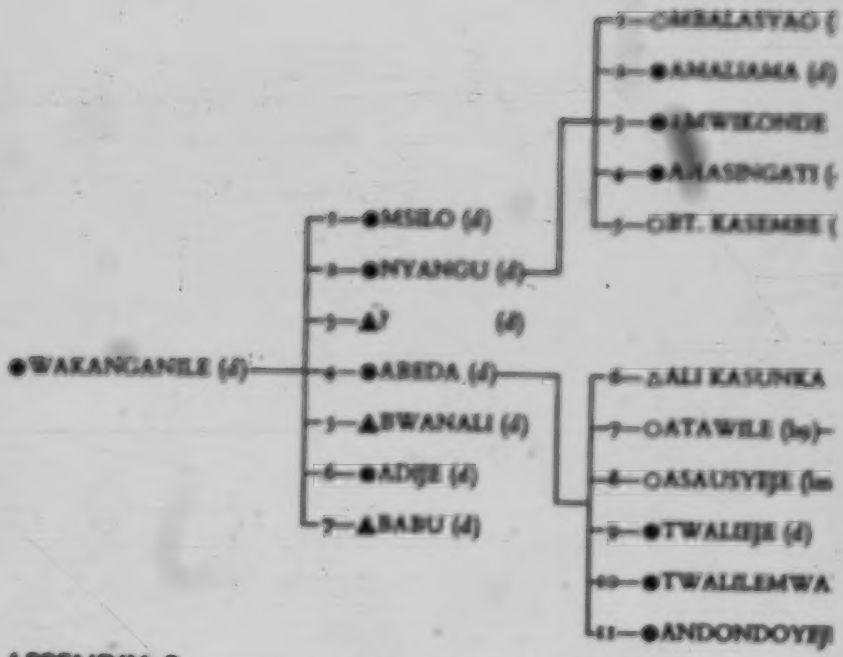
Mq_1/N — A female descendant of Amumala married to a man from a patrilineally-linked lineage.

[p.223]

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

Generation—A B C

361
●613
624

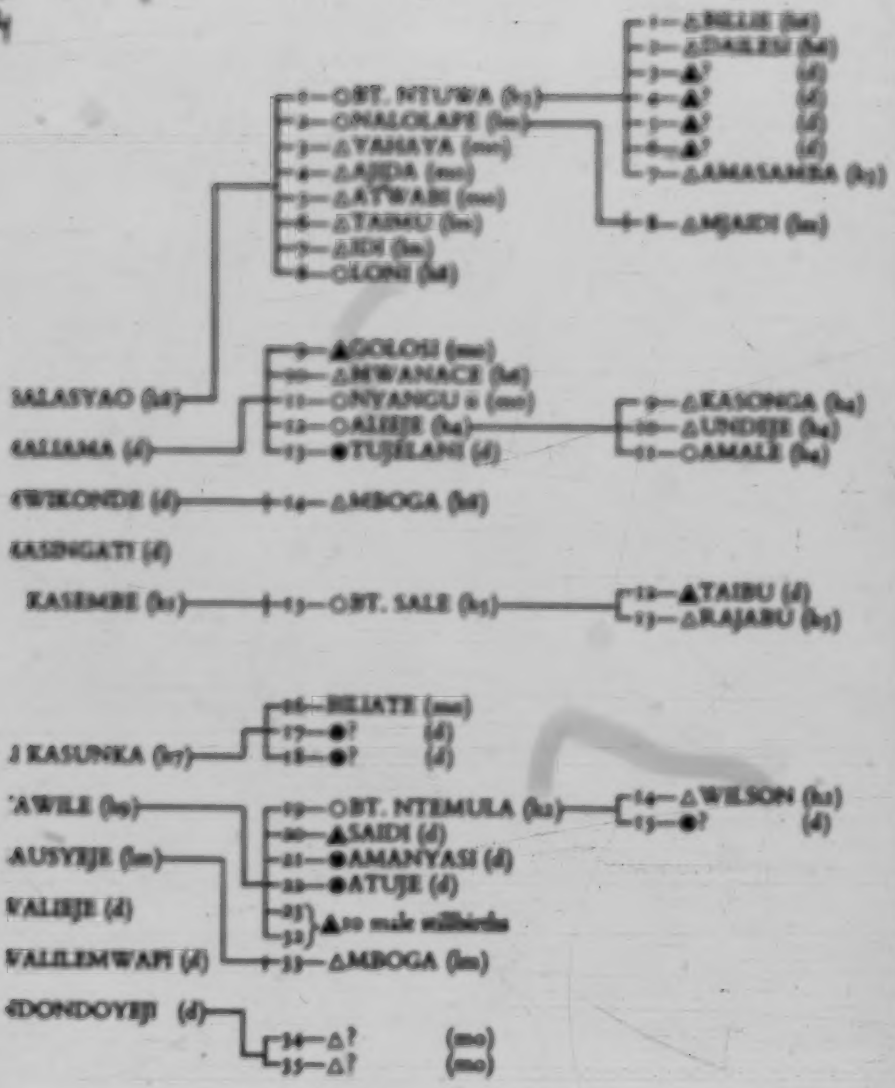


APPENDIX B

A

[End chart 1a]

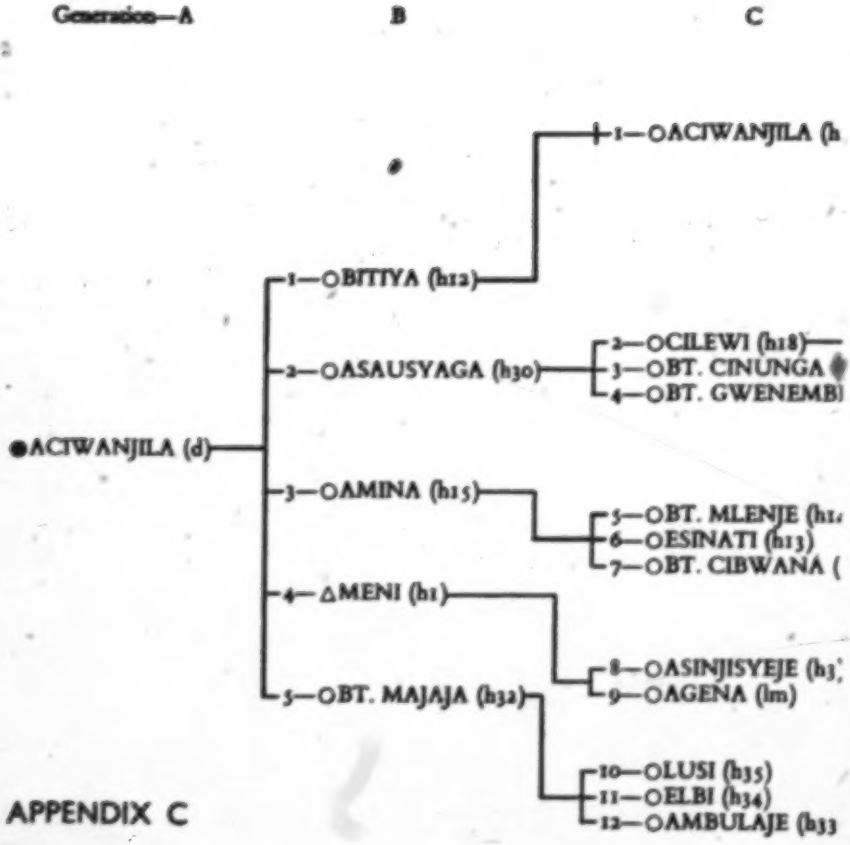
361
●613 C D E
614



[End Chart 16]

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

361
613
621

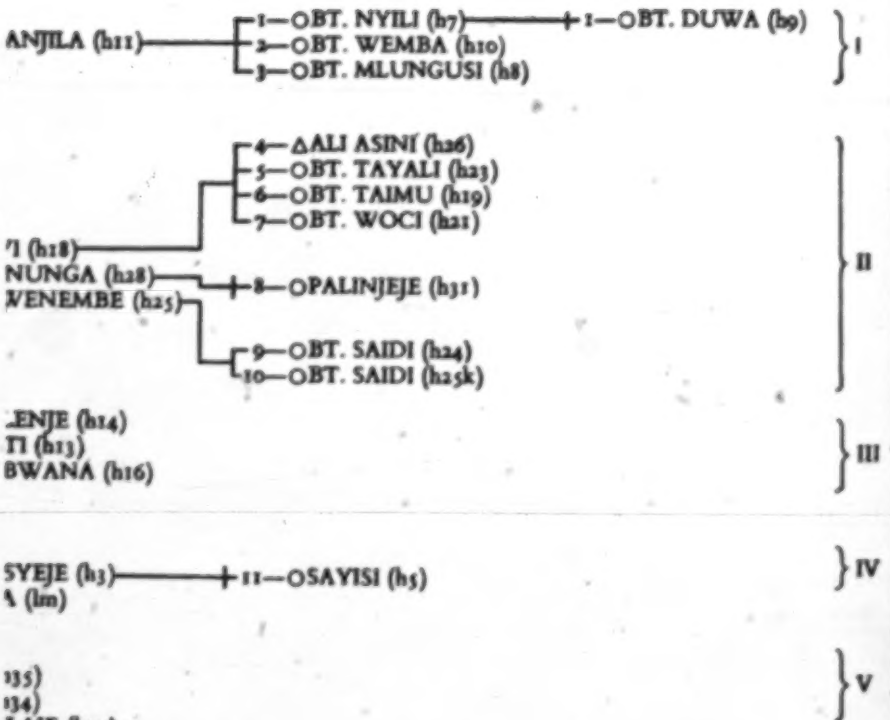


APPENDIX C

[End chart 2a]

361
613
621

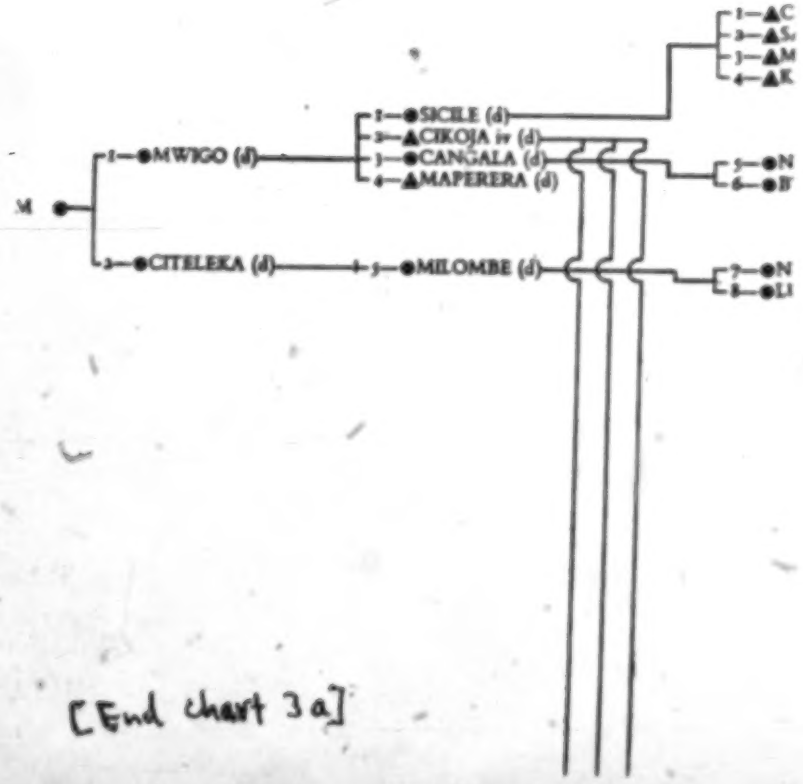
C D E



[End chart 2b]

Generation A B

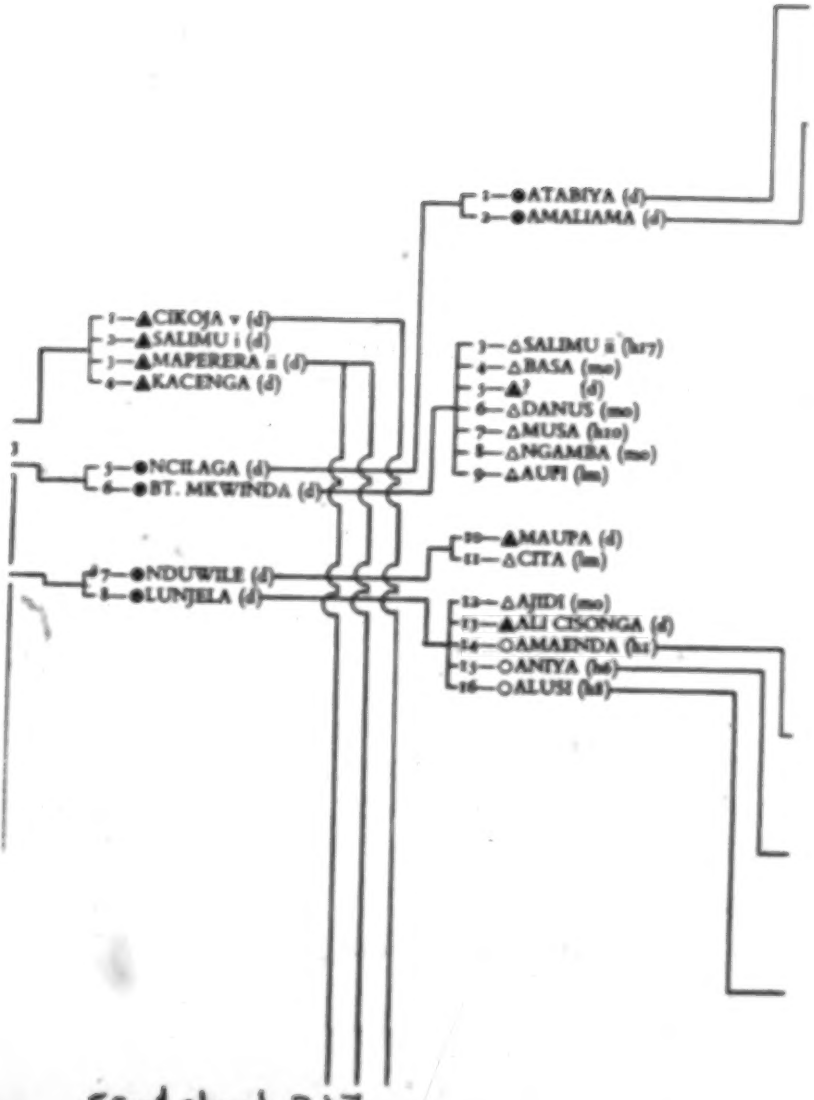
361
613
624 APPENDIX D



[End chart 3a]

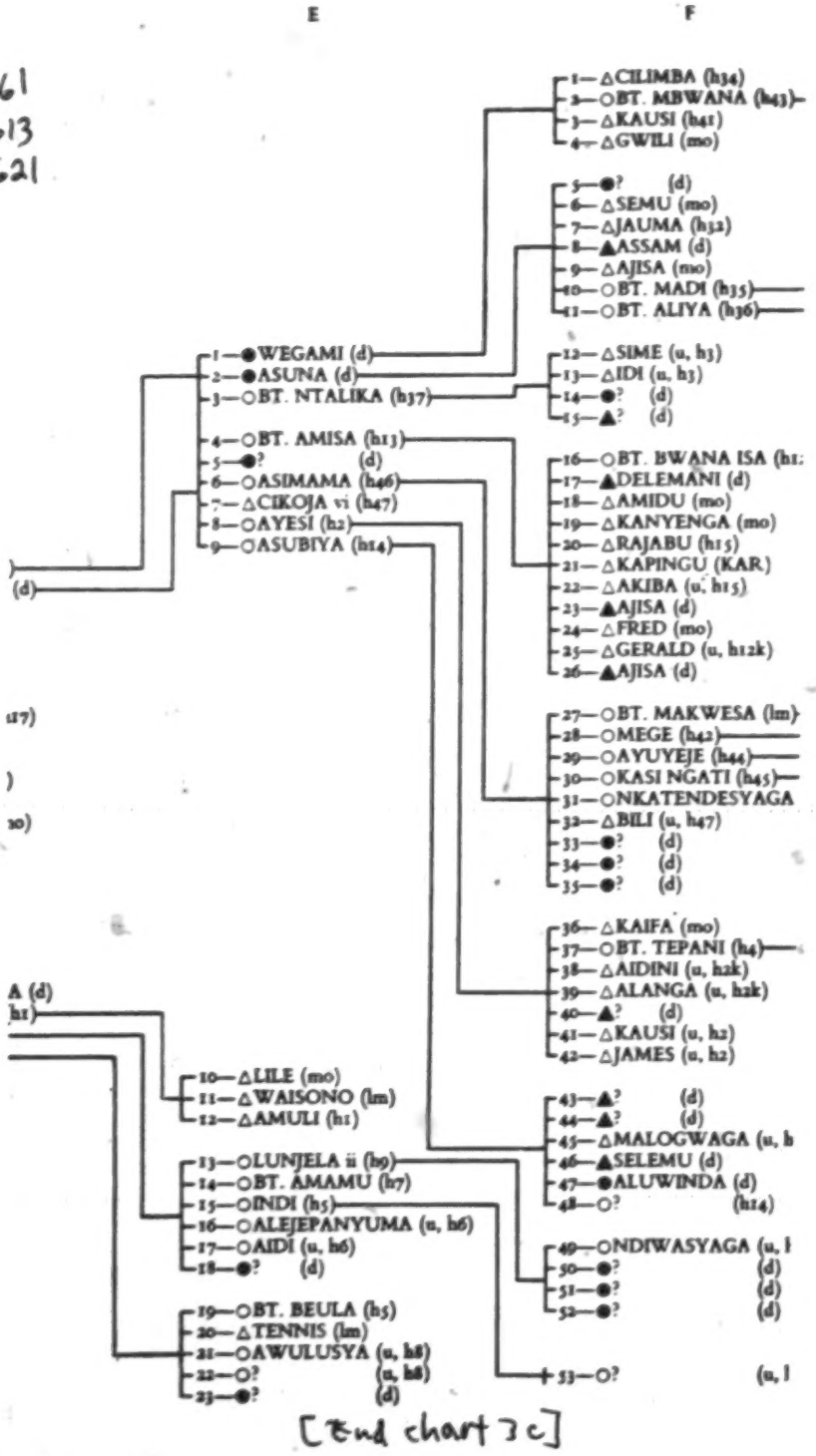
C D

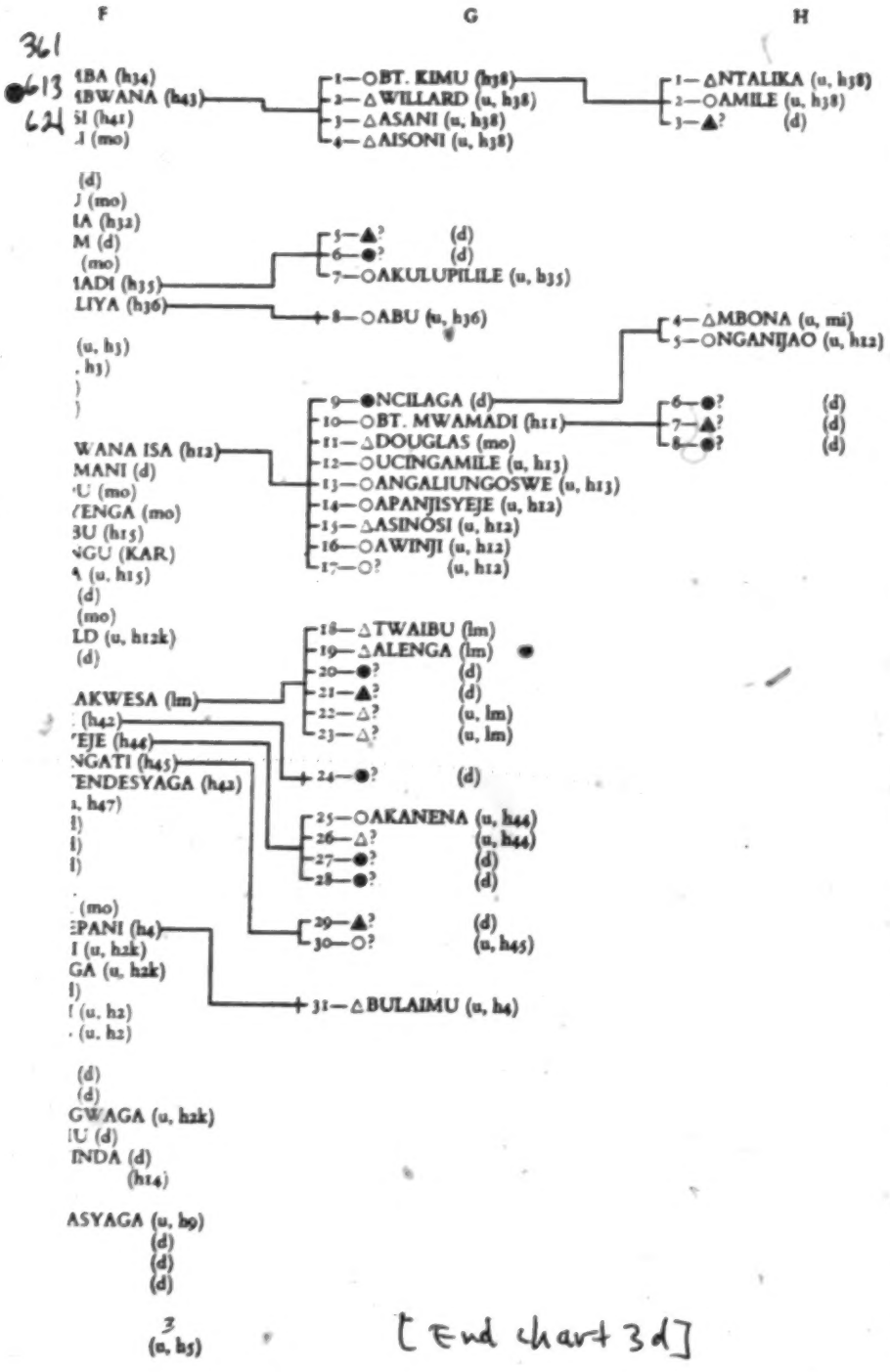
361
● 613
624



[End chart, 3 b]

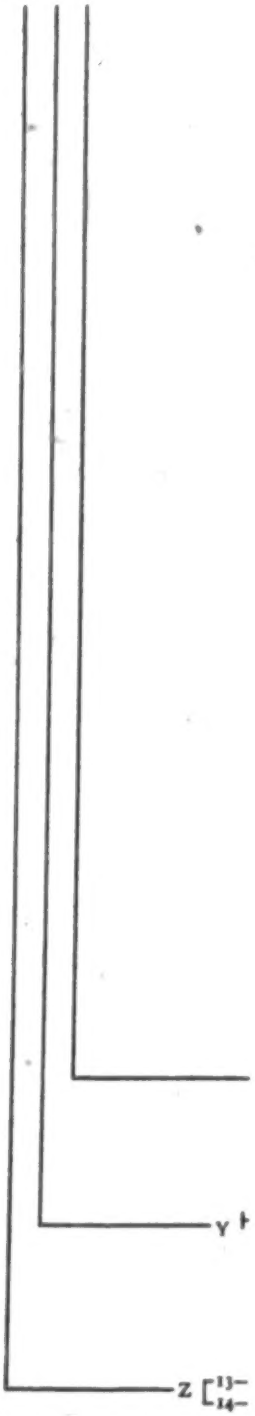
2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7




F
G
H
361
613
624
BA (h34)
BWANA (h43)
SI (h41)
I (mo)
1—○BT. KIMU (h38)
2—△WILLARD (u, h38)
3—△ASANI (u, h38)
4—△AISONI (u, h38)
1—△NTALIKA (u, h38)
2—○AMILE (u, h38)
3—▲? (d)
(d)
J (mo)
IA (h32)
M (d)
(mo)
IADI (h35)
LIYA (h36)
5—▲? (d)
6—●? (d)
7—○AKULUPILILE (u, h35)
8—○ABU (u, h36)
4—△MBONA (u, mi)
5—○NGANIJAO (u, h12)
(u, h3)
, h3)
)
)
9—●NCILAGA (d)
10—○BT. MWAMADI (h11)
11—△DOUGLAS (mo)
12—○UCINGAMILE (u, h13)
13—○ANGALIUNGOSWE (u, h13)
14—○APANJISYEJE (u, h12)
15—△ASINOSI (u, h12)
16—○AWINJI (u, h12)
17—○? (u, h12)
6—●? (d)
7—▲? (d)
8—●? (d)
WANA ISA (h12)
MANI (d)
U (mo)
ENGA (mo)
3U (h15)
NGU (KAR)
(u, h15)
(d)
(mo)
LD (u, h12k)
(d)
18—△TWAIBU (lm)
19—△ALENGA (lm)
20—●? (d)
21—▲? (d)
22—△? (u, lm)
23—△? (u, lm)
AKWESA (lm)
(h42)
EJE (h44)
NGATI (h45)
ENDESYAGA (h42)
, h47)
)
)
)
24—●? (d)
25—○AKANENA (u, h44)
26—△? (u, h44)
27—●? (d)
28—●? (d)
(mo)
EPANI (h4)
I (u, h2k)
GA (u, h2k)
)
(u, h2)
(u, h2)
29—▲? (d)
30—○? (u, h45)
31—△BULAIMU (u, h4)
(d)
(d)
GWAGA (u, h2k)
U (d)
NDA (d)
(h14)
ASYAGA (u, h9)
(d)
(d)
(d)
3
(u, h5)

[End chart 3d]

361
613
621

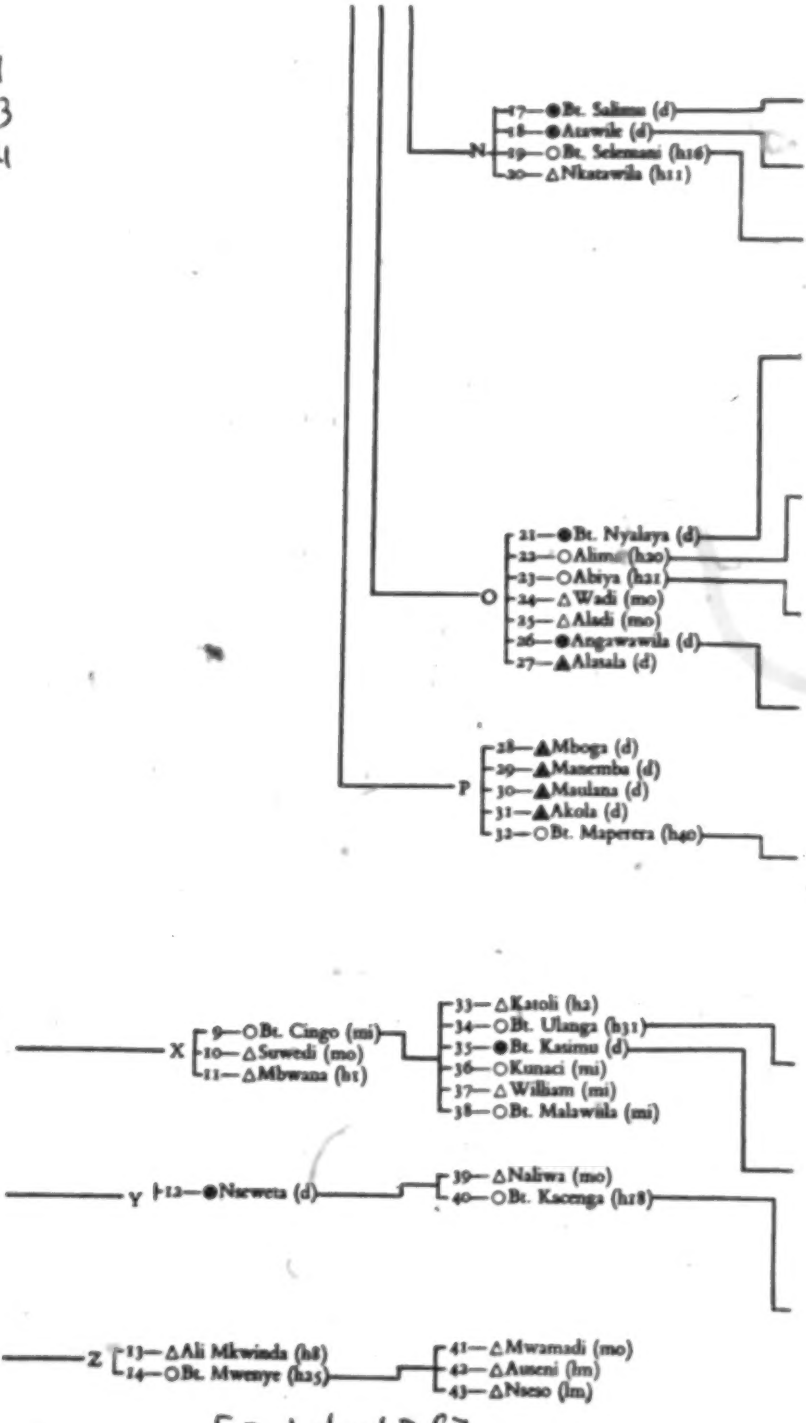


Dominant matrilineage in CAPITALS
Hut numbers in brackets after names
Other symbols:—
d = dead
mo = married out
lm = labour migrant
u = below age of puberty
mi = migrated
k = kitchen
KAR = King's African Rifles

[End chart 3a]

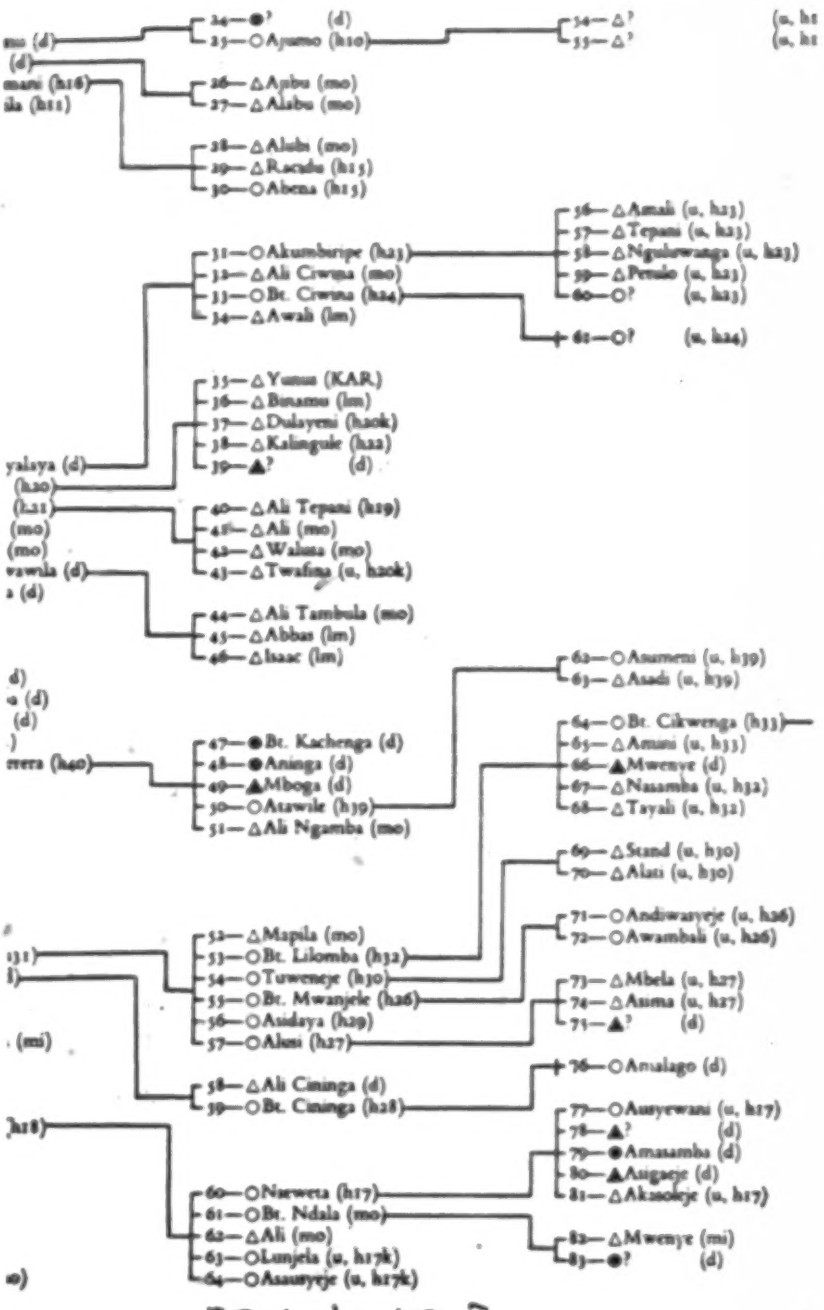
2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

361
●613
621



[End chart 3f]

361
613
621



[End chart 3g]

(n, h10)
(n, h10)

361
613
621

n, h23)
(n, h23)
ungu (n, h23)
n, h23)
n, h23)

n, h24)

n (n, h30)
, h30)

wenga (h33)
n, h33)
e (d)
n (n, h32)
n, h32)

, h30)
h30)

eyeye (n, h26)
oh (n, h26)

n, h27)
n, h27)
d)

o (d)

am (n, h17)
(d)
nba (d)
: (d)
ye (n, h17)

e (mu)
(d)

+32—O? (n, h33)

[End chart 34]

marriage-surety for the marriages of the members of the group. Briefly this means that he must be approached before a marriage can be legally contracted by any member of his charge, he or his representative is present at the ceremony which formally announces the marriage, and he is responsible for the behaviour of his female relative in that marriage. Third, he is immediately concerned with the physical welfare and health of his sorority-group. He must track down the sorcerers causing their illnesses and supply the medicine to heal them. He has to arrange for the ritual purification of mourners after the death of one of the sorority-group's members. Fourth, he must be present in the court-house if one of his charges is involved in a case and he is usually looked to for the money for the fine. I have known a case not to begin because the warden of the sorority-group was not present. Frequently if the husbands of the female members of his charge default, he has to provide the hut-tax money.

Usually the warden of the sorority-group is the eldest brother of a group of adult full sisters. The younger brothers of the group of sisters, while concerned with their welfare, do not stand in this particular responsible position. They refer to the sorority-group as ' our sorority-group '. The elder brother refers to the sorority-group, be it noted, as ' my sorority-group ', and this sets him over and against his younger brothers. The position that the warden holds, however, is not rigidly fixed, for a younger brother may assume control of the sorority-group if for some reason he is dissatisfied with the way in which affairs are being conducted, and is able so to assert himself.

If we recall that the status of a man in a Yao community is determined by the number of dependants that he can command, it is easy to see that relationships between an elder brother and his younger brother are distinctive. The elder brother is responsible for the actions of his younger brother in much the same way as he is for one of his sorority-group, and the younger brothers have a great emotional attachment to their older brothers. Yet at the same time the elder brother stands in the way of the younger brother in his striving for status, in that while the elder brother is warden of the sorority-group the younger brother cannot be, and therefore cannot have dependants and status. It is not surprising to find that accusations of sorcery are frequently made between brothers and the result often is that the younger brother takes the sorority-group away from his sorcerer brother to some other place and sets up a new village with it. Therefore, one possible source of instability in a Yao village lies in the operation of the kinship system in a system of values which reckons status by adherents.

I have thus far been describing the simpler types of village. In the larger groups it is common for the warden of the sorority-group to live in the village where his sorority-group is. Then he usually brings one (or sometimes more) of his wives to the village, where she lives patrilocally. The daughters that are born to her do not return to the sorority-group from which the headman's wife came but marry and set up households near their mother in the village of their father. Thus there develops in time a second sorority-group in the village, alongside the first sorority-group, and related to it through the headman. At this point we may say that the man's position has changed from that of headman of a village containing a single sorority-group, to the more complicated and less secure one of village headman over a more hetero-

5: Mitchell* E-5 (1946-1948) 1949 FT7 Yao FT7

genous group, in which his jurisdiction over one part of the village arises from his position as the warden of a sorority-group, and that which he exercises over the other sorority-group derives partly from his position as a non-matrilineal relative and partly from his own personal qualities. The warden of the second sorority-group is the headman's own son and it is he who takes over all the functions proper to that position, but the successor to the headmanship is a man's sister's son, usually, though not invariably, the first-born son of the eldest sister. Each village headman in turn brings his wife to live in his village and each headman's wife in turn tends to set up a fresh group which is of a different lineage affiliation from that of the headman. In addition to this the warden of the sorority-group formed from the first headman's children tends in due course to live patrilocally and the children of his wife set up yet another foreign group in the village. Hence, theoretically, with each generation the number of opposed groups in a village doubles itself, and in a few generations, were this to continue, the position would become extremely complex. In fact a village of long standing is seen to be composed of a central lineage group to which the headman belongs, and a series of other lineage groups related to the headman's lineage group through one or other of the past and present headmen of that village. Such groups of different lineage make-up are usually mutually opposed and are held together only by the combined influences of a weak patrilineal connexion with the headman's lineage and the personality of the present headman.

This situation is clearly an uneasy one for the headman. His wife is looked upon as a stranger and is often made to feel it. The headman's sorority-group often expresses its hostility and jealousy towards her. The children of the two groups are on no easier terms. They call each other ' cross-cousin ' (*asiwani*) and are expected to marry one another. At the same time the hostility between them is formulated in joking relationships. This critical situation of the headman is made clear to him on the day of his succession. One headman was told: ' As you have got wives, do not listen to what they say. They may be lying. Sometimes they will quarrel with your sisters and say that your sisters have been insulting you. This is false. When you hear these reports you may be unfair to your sisters and the people will say that you have broken your village through listening to nonsense.' Thus when conflicts arise between members of a village the headman is in a peculiar position and it is difficult for him to remain impartial. In such a situation the tendency is to call in an outsider to try to settle the differences. Sometimes these differences are patched up and the village continues as a unit. But, particularly after the death of the first village headman, the tendency is for one of the groups to move away to a completely new area, there to set up a unit of its own.

I quote an actual case to illustrate this procedure: